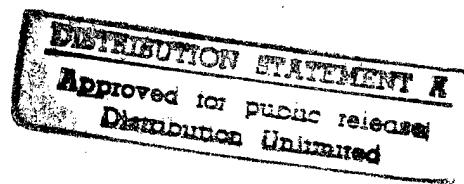


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JPRS 84231

31 August 1983



USSR Report

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

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31 August 1983

**USSR REPORT
SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES
No. 2, Apr-May-Jun 1983**

Translation of the Russian-language journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDUVANIYA published quarterly in Moscow by the Institute of Sociological Research, USSR Academy of Sciences.

CONTENTS

English Summaries of Major Articles (pp 237-238)	1
To Raise the Role of Sociological Science in Solving the Problems of Communist Construction (pp 5-9) (P. N. Fedoseyev)	4
THE PHILOSOPHICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL HERITAGE OF K. MARX AND MODERN TIMES	
The Social Content of the Category "Practice"; The Positing and Solving of the Problem in the Works of K. Marx of 1844-1846 (pp 10-18) (M. A. Manuil'skiy) (not translated)	
Karl Marx on the Relationship of the Nature, Content and Goal of Labor (pp 19-27) (A. I. Kravchenko) (not translated)	
Particular Features of the World Revolutionary Process in the 1970's (pp 27-36) (B. I. Koval')	10
THEORETICAL METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS	
On the Sociological Research of International Relations (pp 37-43) (D. V. Yermolenko)	21
National Labor Traditions--An Important Factor in Production Intensification (pp 43-54) (Yu. V. Bromley, O. I. Shkaratan)	30

SOCIOLOGICAL SCIENCE AND PRACTICE

At the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party (pp 55-58) (Unattributed)	45
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

Certain Aspects in Accelerating Scientific and Technical Progress (pp 58-63) (T. M. Dzhafarli, Sh. L. Kistauri, B. P. Kurashvili, V. P. Rassokhin)	50
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

SOCIAL PLANNING

Expert Evaluation of Hypotheses in Studying Development Prospects of the Way of Life (pp 64-74) (L. A. Gordon, E. S. Chertikhina)	57
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

Expert 'Weighing' of Social Development Problems (pp 74-81) (I. A. Glinkin, T. B. Petrov, V. M. Rutgayzer, O. P. Sayenko) (not translated)	
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--

APPLIED RESEARCH

Collective Gardening--A Reserve for Food Supply (pp 82-89) (T. M. Karakhanova, V. D. Patrushev) (not translated)	
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--

The Family as a Factor in Personnel Stabilization (pp 89-96) (V. G. Alekseyeva)	71
------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

On Certain Aspects of Establishing the Brigade Organization of Labor (pp 96-102) (A. A. Sarno, A. L. Slobodskoy, S. I. Faybushevich, G. N. Cherkasov)	80
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

Wages as a Social Value (pp 102-110) (I. M. Popova, V. B. Moin) (not translated)	
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--

LEGALITY, LAW AND ORDER, DISCIPLINE

Social Deviation as a Research Problem (pp 111-117) (V. N. Kudryavtsev)	88
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

The Content of Labor and Antisocial Conduct (pp 117-121) (V. M. Kogan) (not translated)	
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--

An Attempt at a Sociological Study of Awareness of Law (pp 121-126) (A. S. Grechin)	97
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

Effectiveness of Disciplinary Measures (pp 127-129) (P. P. Reznikov, V. A. Rodenko) (not translated)	
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--

The Attitude Toward Labor and the Discipline of Industrial Workers (pp 129-132) (E. A. Kyuregyan)	104
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----

Motivational Structure in Juvenile Group Offenses (pp 132-135) (V. I. Litvinov)	108
FACTS, COMMENTARIES, COMMENTS (From the Sociologist's Desk)	
On the Methodology of Studying the Social Differences of City and Countryside (pp 136-140) (N. A. Aitov, R. B. Kamayev)	113
On the Distribution of Housework in the Family (pp 140-142) (M. Yu. Arutyunyan)	119
The Family Under Overcrowded Housing Conditions (From the Data of Empirical Research in the United States) (pp 142-144) (A. I. Zheltukhin) (not translated)	
Social Problems of Recreation in the United States (pp 144-147) (I. G. Vasil'yeva) (not translated)	
METHODS AND TECHNIQUES OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH	
Establishing the Representativeness of Sociological Research (pp 148-158) (M. I. Zhabskiy) (not translated)	
The Method of Incorporation in Research (pp 158-162) (L. G. Borisova) (not translated)	
TO AID THE PLANT SOCIOLOGIST	
The Use of Technical Devices for Collecting Sociological Information (pp 163-167) (V. A. Cherednichenko) (not translated)	
THE SOCIOLOGICAL SERVICE	
The Contribution of Sociologists to the Economic and Social Development of an Industrial Region (A Roundtable of the Journal SOTSIOLICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA) (pp 168-170) (Unattributed)	123
On the Path to Efficiency (pp 170-173) (A. N. Sokolov)	127
Questionnaire Surveying in the Work Practices of the Plant Sociological Service (pp 173-175) (G. I. Marchenko)	131
'Your Mood' (pp 175-176) (A. V. Reshetnichenko)	134

CRITICISM OF MODERN BOURGEOIS SOCIOLOGY

The Sociophilosophical Concepts of Niklas Luhmann (pp 177-184)
(A. F. Filippov) (not translated)

A 'Critical Theory' Against 'Social Technology' (pp 185-191)
(S. Ye. Vershinin, A. V. Gayda) (not translated)

FRAGMENTS OF FUTURE BOOKS

Dialectics of the General and Particular in the Establishment
and Development of Socialism (pp 192-201)
(N. V. Pilipenko) 137

RESULTS, PLANS, INTENTIONS

At the Department of Philosophy and Law of the USSR Academy of
Sciences (pp 202-203)
(Unattributed) 149

The Sixtieth Birthday of V. N. Kudryavtsev (p 203)
(Unattributed) 152

FROM THE EDITOR'S MAIL (pp 204-206)
(Unattributed) 154

SCIENTIFIC LIFE

Report-Election Conference of the Soviet Sociological Association
(pp 207-210)
(I. N. Sal'nikova) 158

The Constructing and Use of Socioeconomic Norms (pp 211-213)
(V. V. Vdovenko) 164

Prevention of Juvenile Offenses (pp 213-214)
(I. F. Dement'yeva) 168

Current Events (pp 214-216)
(Unattributed) 170

BOOK REVIEWS

"Leninism: Philosophical Traditions and Modern Times," by
M. T. Iovchuk (pp 217-218)
(B. N. Bessonov, Kh. N. Momdzhyan) (not translated)

"Sociological Research in Ideological Work," by V. I. Volovich
(pp 218-220)
(A. M. Kovtun) 174

"Social Planning in the USSR," by Zh. T. Toshchenko (pp 220-221) (T. K. Kasumov)	177
"The Lifestyle of an Individual" (pp 222-223) (I. T. Levykin, A. N. Malinkin) (not translated)	
"A Workbook on Forecasting" (pp 223-224) (G. I. Mikerin) (not translated)	
"Spiritual Production" (pp 224-227) (V. Zh. Kelle) (not translated)	
"Public Education in a Developed Socialist Society," by A. K. Karypkulov (pp 227-229) (F. R. Aleksandrov)	180
"Intelligentsia and Social Progress in the Developing Asian and African Nations" (pp 229-232) (A. D. Litman)	183
"The Third Wave," by E. Toffler (pp 232-234) (V. Ya. Zlotin) (not translated)	
"Television and Time," by I. Slavkov, V. Kunchev (pp 234-235) (V. V. Boyko)	187
The Sociologist's Bookshelf (pp 235-236) (Unattributed) (not translated)	
Foreign Panorama (pp 63, 81, 110, 135, 147, 192, 206) (Unattributed) (not translated)	

PUBLICATION DATA

English title : SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES, No 2, 1983

Russian title : SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA

Author (s) :

Editor (s) : A. G. Kharchev

Publishing House : Izdatel'stvo Nauka

Place of Publication : Moscow

Date of Publication : June 1983

Signed to press : 1 March 1983

Copies : 8,419

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ENGLISH SUMMARIES OF MAJOR ARTICLES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press
19 Apr 83) pp 237-238

[English summaries of lead articles: transliteration and Soviet English are original]

[Text] P. N. Fedosejev

TO RISE THE SOCIOLOGICAL SCIENCE ROLE IN THE PROBLEMS OF COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION SOLUTION

Sociological science is of increasing significance in solution of practical problems of organizational, management and ideological work. The author considers the ways of sociological research effectiveness and quality rise according to those tasks that were put ahead by November (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and in Jurij Andropov's speeches. The main of them is orientation on the investigation of real processes of "practical social relations" (Marx). Thus historical materialism plays the role of philosophical and methodological basis for sociological research. P. N. Fedosejev raises a question of enhancing scientists' responsibility for the final results of their activity, outlines the most important research directions.

M. A. Manuilskij

SOCIAL CONTENT OF "PRACTICE" CATEGORY: THE STATEMENT AND SOLUTION OF A QUESTION IN KARL MARX'S WORKS OF 1844-1846

The role of the principle of practice in formation of dialectic-materialistic views on society and cognition is analyzed. The author singles out two aspects in the conception of "practice"--social and gnosiological. He comes to the conclusion that sphere of gnosiology should be considered as the starting when defining the category. Questions of cognition social nature and specificity of socio-historical activity constitute its main part as well as the social content of the practice conception.

A. I. Kravtchenko

KARL MARX ABOUT THE INTERRELATION OF NATURE, CONTENT AND PURPOSE OF LABOR

On the materials of the "Capital" the important sociological categories--character and content of labor--are analyzed here. The author demonstrates that character is a distinctive feature not only of abstract but also of concrete labor. The content of labor shouldn't be reduced to the complex of operations, that is why it is considered on the level of the society and separate working place. There are made a conclusion that character and content of labor have the same structure--the object, means, goal and product of labor. This approach constitutes the general methodological basis for concrete sociological research.

B. I. Koval

THE PECULIARITIES OF THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS IN THE 1970's

There is made an attempt in the article to classify social revolutions, which took place in the 70's. The following criteria are used for this purpose: level of development of capitalism in the country, degree of dependence on imperialist system, objective goals of the revolution, its motive forces, political organizations which are at the head of the process. The research data gives the author opportunity to insist that nowadays the popular character of revolutions is strengthening.

J. V. Bromlej, O. I. Shkaratan

NATIONAL LABOR TRADITIONS SIGNIFICANCE IN THE PRODUCTION INTENSIFICATION

When developing industry and distributing its enterprises in the country it is necessary to take into account national traditions, because labor experience of nations is of great stability. Production components, such as working place, social organization of the plant and so on, are polyvariant and that gives the opportunity to choose technology and mode of labor organization according to national peculiarities of workers. Practical realization of this principle presupposes in author's opinion elaboration of atlas of nations of the country, which would reflect national labor traditions.

L. A. Gordon, L. I. Tchertikhina

EXPERT ASSESSMENT OF HYPOTHESES IN THE PROSPECTS OF WAY OF LIFE DEVELOPMENT INVESTIGATION

Some results of expert questioning on such problems as possible changes in the sphere of daily life, status of women, cultural values consumption are presented here. The main tasks of the research were to define social ideal of the way of life and real tendencies of its evolution, to analyze forms and directions of different spheres of life activity perfection. The authors' conclusion is that expert assessment of hypotheses and models may serve as an effective method of way of life forecasting.

A. I. Glinkin, T. B. Petrov, V. M. Rutgaizer, O. P. Sajenko

EXPERT "WEIGHING" OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS

The purpose of the research undertaken was to make more definite the possibility of expert assessment as applied to problems of social development, to fix regional differences in estimations. There are analyzed assessment on following questions: general problems of the population welfare rising and the way of life perfection, consumption of material wealth and services. Gained during such a research information is of great importance for elaboration and realization of socioeconomic development plans.

V. G. Aleksejeva

FAMILY AS A FACTOR OF PERSONNEL STABILIZATION

On the basis of empirical data the character and tendencies of conjugal family relations development in regions of new industrial exploitation are analyzed. The author substantiates the conclusion that family plays an important role in formation of personnel potential at Baikal-Amur main line and Atomstroy. Still the realization of possibilities of the family is restrained by insufficient development of social infrastructure and disproportions in the structure of working places.

I. M. Popova, V. B. Moin

WAGES AS A SOCIAL VALUE

Using the materials of empirical research the authors consider ratio of individual's values and needs in the sphere of labor, substantiate methodic and empirical criteria for distinguishing of them. There are made the following conclusions in the article: respondents' notion about socially approved attitude to wages is contradictory, the meaning of material reward (especially its moral aspect) as one of the main stimuli of labor effectiveness and production quality rising is poorly realized.

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TO RAISE THE ROLE OF SOCIOLOGICAL SCIENCE IN SOLVING THE PROBLEMS OF COMMUNIST CONSTRUCTION

Moscow SOTSIOLICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press 19 Apr 83) pp 5-9

[Article by Petr Nikolayevich Fedoseyev, Academician, Vice President of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The author of a number of monographs, including "Kommunizm i filosifiya" [Communism and Philosophy] (1971), "Marksizm v XX veke. Marks, Engel's, Lenin i sovremennoost'" [Marxism in the 20th Century. Marks, Engels, Lenin and Modern Times] (1977) and "Dialektika sovremennoy epokhi" [The Dialectics of the Modern Age] (1978). Our journal has published his articles "The Working Class and Scientific-Technical Progress" (No 4, 1980), "To Raise the Theoretical Level and Practical Effectiveness of Social Sciences" (No 3, 1981) and "On the Question of the Subject of Marxist-Leninist Sociology" (No 3, 1982). The article is based on a speech at the report and election conference of the Soviet Sociological Association in February 1983.]

[Text] Soviet sociology has taken up an important and fitting place among the social sciences. It has met with widespread recognition and is used in the organizational and ideological work of many party committees. It is already becoming traditional for party organs to prepare and take decisions on problems of social development with the participation of sociologists.

The scientific basis for developing sociological science in the country was the creation of the Institute of Sociological Research. During the years that the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research has existed it has provided many useful pieces of work and fruitful recommendations. Much in the improvement of the organization and quality of research developments in sociology depends on the Soviet Sociological Association which unites a detachment of many thousands of representatives of academy and VUZ scholarship and plant sociologists. They are to resolve problems of varying subject matter and complexity and the vocational training of sociological cadres is uneven. the Soviet Sociological Association has a lot of work to do to overcome trivial subject matter and to provide scientific and organizational back-up for the orientation of research toward the solution of topical practical tasks. We are publishing an increasing number of articles and books on sociological problems. It may be hoped that this quantitative increase will be combined to an increasing extent with a systematic improvement in the quality of sociological publications and their scientific and practical effectiveness. Sociology, like all the

social sciences, is designed to actively promote the creation of conditions--economic and organizational--"which would encourage high-quality, productive labor, initiative and enterprise" [5, p 9].

"We have big reserves in the national economy," Yu. V. Andropov noted at the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) Plenum. "These reserves must be sought in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the broad and rapid introduction into production of the achievements of science, technology, and leading experience" [5, p 10]. Questions of the organization of communist construction are the basic element of all work. The recently published materials on Yu. V. Andropov's meeting with the Moscow machine tool builders are a model of specificity, efficiency, and true liaison with the masses. As Yuriy Vladimirovich [Andropov] stressed, our thoughts should be directed toward deeds, not bombastic words [6]. This also applies fully to the organization of scientific activity. There is evidently an urgent need to rethink the existing criteria for assessing scientific labor and to raise scientists' responsibility for its end results.

Soviet society has entered the era of mature socialism. That is a very great historical achievement. But developed socialism is not something finished and ossified. It should be improved and strengthened. Enormous tasks also face sociological thinking here.

What is sociology's calling? What is its function? I would say that the main thing for sociology is to study living social life in its diverse manifestations and incessant development. Of course, that does not mean that sociological science can be reduced merely to its empirical aspects. It also needs theoretical generalizations and the development of its categorical apparatus on the methodological basis of historical materialism. However, these generalizations should be oriented above all to practical requirements and based on a profound all-round understanding of specific social phenomena and processes.

I remember in this connection that K. Marx, in describing the dialectical materialist method of cognition (in terms of the study of society) pointed to the need to study primarily "practical social relations" [1]. Developing the Marxist methodology of studying social reality, V. I. Lenin also focused attention on this fact: "Marx," he wrote, "from the very start of his literary and revolutionary activity stated in the most definite terms his demands on sociological theory; it must depict an actual process--and nothing more [2, p 179]. Sociology is called on to give an objective analysis of reality, to study particular relations between people, and thus the actions of real individuals. Materialism was linked by V. I. Lenin not only with a recognition of the primacy of social existence but also with the orientation toward the study of specific, real processes. He warned that a scientific understanding of social life has nothing in common with a priori, far-fetched schemes, that it is here "that it is usual to find any sort of contraband conveyed under the flag of general phrases" [4, p 349]. V. I. Lenin's work "Statistics and Sociology" gives us a model of specificity and historicism in sociological research.

The essence of the truly scientific methodology of social cognition can be expressed in Lenin's words, "sociological realism." Without realism, without a basis on specific facts, materialism in sociology is impossible. "Precise

facts, indisputable facts--that is what...is particularly essential if you want to investigate a complex and difficult question in earnest..." V. I. Lenin stressed [4, p 350]. That is why orientation toward facts taken in their objective interconnection and interdependence is the main prerequisite for improving the quality of both theoretical and applied research. The question of how to collect facts and establish their connection and interdependence is a very important methodological question of sociology. Lenin's behest remains of paramount importance for the present-day development of Soviet sociological science: "It is necessary to try to establish a foundation of precise and indisputable facts on which we can rely and with which we can compare any 'general' or 'model' argument which are so immoderately abused in some countries in our day" [4, p 350-351].

But of course, the study of facts is not simply their description. It should serve the goals of vigorous transforming activity for the sake of social progress, for solving the most important socioeconomic and ideological problems, for revealing the real contradictions of socialism and actively using them "as a source and incentive to its advance" [8, p 21].

I think that questions of social planning are now in the forefront in sociology. In the USSR, annual, five-year and long-term plans have been adopted recently not only for economic but also for social development. This sets crucial new tasks for Soviet sociologists. A large amount of experience in social planning at the enterprise level has been accumulated in the country. The many thousands-strong detachment of plant sociologists plays a prominent role here. In particular, considerable successes have been achieved at the Dneproshina [Dnepr Tire] Production Association. Sociologists here have helped not only to study, but also to create a favorable climate in the collective and have helped to strengthen discipline and improve the quality of work. There are also substantial achievements in the social planning of cities and regions. Now it is a question of enhancing the effectiveness of social planning on the scale of republics and the entire country. But for that it is necessary to have a good knowledge of the actual state of affairs and the direction of expected changes. In other words, planning for us is not a collection of various wishes but a definition of paths for progressive development and the improvement of all aspects of social life. Consequently, objective criteria and quantitative and qualitative indicators are needed. Their elaboration is one of the sociologists' main tasks.

The 26th CPSU Congress has focused scientists' attention on the problems of society's social structure. Here sociologists have achieved considerable results. But these problems have been developed rather narrowly, mainly from the viewpoint of the influence of their formation on the social structure. Of course, this influence is very important but it is not the whole of the question. V. I. Lenin frequently said that socialism is the destruction of the classes. This is a lengthy process during which the exploiter classes and capitalist elements in general are eliminated and the small ownership system is transformed on the basis of the formation of cooperatives among small-scale producers; the important differences between the working class, cooperative peasantry and socialist intelligentsia are then overcome.

The 26th Congress materials formulated the proposition that mainly and basically the establishment of a classless society will evidently take place within the framework of mature socialism. In this connection it is essential to reveal the ways of eroding class boundaries primarily between the working class and peasantry. How will the surmounting of important differences between the two forms of ownership and their rapprochement and integration take place? That is one of the most topical problems of sociological research.

In the literature, the idea has been frequently expressed that it is necessary to transform cooperative ownership more rapidly into ownership by the whole people and thus resolve this question. In practice, matters are different. The optimum solution of this task involves primarily the development of kolkhoz and sovkhoz associations and agroindustrial integration. Considerable results have already been achieved on this path both in our country and the fraternal socialist countries.

In the report "Sixty Years of the USSR," Yu. V. Andropov gave an in-depth analysis of the problems of nationality relations, noting that "they require special concern and constant attention from the Communist Party" and consequently Soviet science [7]. Vast research experience has been accumulated here. However, sociological literature is frequently guilty of inaccuracies and one-sided conclusions simplifying the crux of the matter. In particular, this applies to the problem of the merging of the nations. "The aim of socialism," V. I. Lenin wrote, "is not only to destroy man's division into small states and any division of nations, but also to merge them" [3, p 256]. However, the term "to merge" cannot be interpreted as some act isolated from the nations' past and present history, still less can its content be reduced to "overcoming" national uniqueness. The merging of nations is a long and dialectic process including a number of stages and gradually broadening its limits. V. I. Lenin linked its beginning with the union of aware workers of different nationalities into a single Marxist party and with the growth of the proletariat's international cohesion in the course of the revolutionary struggle. After the victory of the socialist revolution and a fundamental change in the very essence of nations and nationality relations, a new stage begins in this process characterized by the flowering of the economy and culture of each socialist nation, the expansion of mutual aid and cooperation on the basis of the alliance of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, and socialist intelligentsia, and ending in the formation of a historically new social and international community--the Soviet people. It is important to note that this community once again does not contradict national uniqueness, it does not presuppose any artificial destruction of national differences, but creates even more favorable conditions both for the further rapprochement of all nations and ethnic groups of the USSR and for their further all-round development. In studying the process of the consolidation of Soviet society's international unity, it is essential to be guided by Lenin's thesis that the merging of nations will take place in inextricable connection with the international consolidation of all mankind after the victory of socialism and communism on a world scale.

Of particular importance for the practice of communist construction is research on: the socialist way of life, on the greater efficiency of our entire national economy with consideration not only for actual economic but also for social criteria, on creating conditions for the further flowering of the Soviet labor

incentives and distribution relations, the amelioration of management, the enhancement of organization, efficiency, and planning, state and labor discipline, and the ensuring of greater effectiveness in ideological and educational work. These problems, posed in Yu. V. Andropov's work "Karl Marx's Teaching and Some Questions of Socialist Building in the USSR" are fundamental problems of socio-logical science and their study, combined with the determination of the most rational ways of resolving them, is one of the main conditions for success in economic and social policy.

The course the party has steered toward production intensification has increased the need for an all-round scientific study of labor collectives and the elaboration of practical recommendations aimed at the further development of their production, sociopolitical, managerial, and educational functions.

Right now, increasing importance for resolving both economic and socioideological tasks of communist building is assumed by the improvement of the demographic situation in the country. That is why the study of questions of the family, woman's status, the birth rate and health of new generations, and the effectiveness of demographic policy must remain one of the main avenues of Marxist-Leninist sociology in the USSR.

The party documents have frequently drawn attention to the need for regular public opinion research. This question is of lively interest to party organizations, for public opinion analysis helps to elaborate the correct solutions in the sphere of economic, organizational, and ideological work. The activity of Soviet sociologists in this sphere has produced several conclusions of practical use. However, the methods of studying public opinion and the forms of the practical use of the results of opinion polls leaves room for improvement. Yet it is precisely on opinion polls that science's effectiveness ultimately depends.

Our science is developing and will continue to develop on the unshakable foundations of Marxism-Leninism. However, "testing oneself against Marx and Marxism-Leninism," Yu. V. Andropov points out, "in no way means mechanically 'comparing' life, as it moves along, against particular formulas. We would be worthless followers of our teachers if we were to content ourselves with repeating the truths they discovered and relying on the magical power of quotations that we had once learned by heart" [8, p 22]. In order not to lag behind life, sociologists must apply in practice, creatively and with great responsibility, the method of materialist dialectics, rightly called "the soul of Marxism" [8, p 22].

A realization of this responsibility should serve as an incentive for the further development of sociological science, for the improvement of the ideological-political and professional standard of its cadres, and for its increasingly profound assimilation of the very rich traditions of dialectical materialist social thinking and the great theoretical and methodological legacy of K. Marx, F. Engels and V. I. Lenin.

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CSO: 1806/23

PARTICULAR FEATURES OF THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS IN THE 1970's

Moscow SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press 19 Apr 83) pp 27-36

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[Text] That "the aspirations of certain members in a given society," as V. I. Lenin emphasized, "run contrary to the aspirations of others, that social life is full of contradictions and that history shows us a struggle between peoples and societies as well as within them and in addition the alternating of periods of revolution and reaction, wars and peace, stagnation and rapid progress or decline--all these facts are generally known. Marxism has provided the guiding thread making it possible to disclose the patterns in this seeming labyrinth and chaos, namely the theory of class struggle" [1, p 58]. This theory has given a consistently scientific nature to the comparative method in sociology, one of the most widespread methods of analyzing sociohistorical phenomena.

Having criticized the metaphysical understanding of the comparative method as a correlating of strictly external features in individual events (although this aspect as well, of course, is of important significance), K. Marx and F. Engels disclosed the common patterns in mankind's development from historical materialistic positions and created a theoretical platform for sociology as a science.

Whatever work by the founders of Marxism we might take, be it "The Class Struggle in France," "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" of K. Marx or "Revolution and Counterrevolution in Germany" by F. Engels, each of these contains the methods of scientific correlation and comparison for the experience of social revolutions. Characteristically, precisely on this basis the main aspects of revolutionary processes are disclosed, that is, their objective

prerequisites and the nature, driving forces and stages, mechanisms and paths of development as well as results and historical significance.

In justly criticizing the untenableness of the bourgeois "sociology of revolution," Marxism-Leninism proceeds not from dogmatically or subjectively understood "standards" of sociological research as exclusively empirical, but from the view that a scientific sociology of revolutions is predominantly of a theoretical nature and includes in the sphere of its attention many aspects which formally relate to the "domain" of other disciplines such as philosophy, political science, history, law and so forth. Only in this way, actually speaking, does one achieve truly an "all-encompassing, all-round" analysis of which V. I. Lenin wrote [1, p 57]. Or to put it differently: the more significant the share of interdisciplinary methods in this analysis the broader the sociological content it assumes.

The article offered here attempts to apply the comparative method to the people's revolutions in the 1970's.¹

It is essential to note the consoling fact that serious research has been written about many revolutions of modern times. But, as a rule, in this each revolution has been analyzed separately without a systematic comparison with other ones.

The history of class struggles over the last decade provides rich material for the researcher. During these years, in a large group of nations including Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Portugal, Libya, Angola, Mozambique, Benin, Yemen, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Guinea-Bissau, as well as Iran, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Laos, Kampuchea, South Vietnam, Zimbabwe and Grenada, major revolutionary disturbances occurred. In some, the revolution was defeated, in others it gradually was "resolved," while in still others (and this was the predominant majority) it is successfully continuing. In many states, due to the revolutions, an important shift occurred in the structure of power, radical transformations were carried out in the economy and the rule of the monopolies was eliminated or significantly weakened. Naturally, the profundity of the revolutionary changes in each nation has varied. The destinies of the new states have also developed differently. Some have set out on the path of socialist development while others have remained in the framework of capitalism.

Nevertheless, the "revolutionary outburst" of the 1970's was so impressive that one can speak about its global significance. It expressed all the gigantic energy of the "lower classes" and all their hate for the exploiting orders.

A true materialist scientist, K. Marx and F. Engels pointed out, "does not seek out any particular category in each era, but constantly remains in the soil of true history, he does not explain practice from the standpoint of ideas but rather explains the formation of ideas from material practice...," and

¹ In part, this task has been carried out in the works of K. N. Brutenets, V. V. Zagladin, Yu. A. Krasin, G. M. Leybzon, N. A. Simonin, R. A. Ul'yanovskiy, A. S. Chernyayev and other Soviet authors.

emphasizes "that not criticism but rather the revolution is the driving force of history..." [2]. This driving force in our times has assumed a new scale and most importantly a truly popular nature.

But this is not all. The very objective conditions of the revolutionary struggle have changed radically. In the 1970's, in contrast to the previous decades, a new, more favorable situation arose for the on-going development of the world revolutionary process. This was due to the consolidation of the might of real socialism and the achieving of a lessening of international tension, on the one hand, and the deepening of the general crisis in capitalism, including the world economic crisis of 1974-1975, on the other. The consequences of the scientific and technical revolution and acute global problems (energy, food and others) also appeared and began to have a marked impact on social relations; the profound contradiction between satiated imperialism and the poor developing states, between labor and capital appeared with new strength. These changes, of course, could not help but tell on the forms and scales of the class struggle and on the development of the entire world revolutionary process. In turn, the class struggle and the victories of the people's revolutions shaped the situation in the world.

Thus, a definite interaction came into being between the new objective conditions of the class struggle and revolutionary practice. At one time K. Marx had drawn special attention to this pattern. In his "Theses on Feuerbach," he had written: "A comparison of the change of circumstances and human activity can be viewed and can be rationally understood only as revolutionary practice" [3].

This idea of K. Marx is of important methodological significance for the sociological analysis of the present-day revolutionary struggle. Of course, specific social processes do not repeat themselves. They do not copy one another but rather develop independently. For this reason not the events themselves are to be compared, but rather the mechanisms of their rise and development. Specific national features, like the originality of each historical stage in this struggle, largely have an unique character and for this reason it would be too great an oversimplification to compare them. In other words, inevitable limitations are inherent to the very essence of comparative sociological analysis as a method, while with this condition such an approach maintains its high value. In each instance it is merely important to endeavor to be extremely cautious in making the comparison of the diverse and only partially coinciding traits and particular features in the various social revolutions of one or another historical age.

Of course, the specific events of the Iranian revolution cannot be compared mechanically with the course, for example, of the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua. This in no way means that it would be impossible or purposeless to compare (not to equate but specifically to compare) the objective conditions in both revolutions, the structure of their driving forces, their goals and results, that is, the aspects which with all the differences and precisely due to such differences are brought out only in comparison with one another.

In practical terms, even a simple description of events would be impossible without one or another evaluation and this is already a definite form of

comparison juxtaposition and correlating of the given social phenomenon with others.

A comparative analysis of social and political revolutions is possible using a whole series of different criteria. Bourgeois sociology usually operates with the following concepts: coup, parliamentary elections and so forth. These indicators, of course, are of important significance but one in no way should be limited to just them. Moreover, they are derived from more profound objective factors. These include, primarily: the socioeconomic causes and aims of the revolution, its driving forces, historical trend and relationship with the transition from one formation to another and the class nature of the old and new authorities. Thus, in order to understand the sense and significance of a revolution, it is essential to examine the entire complex of different characteristics.

K. Marx emphasized that only "at a certain stage of their development do the material productive forces in a society come into contradiction with the existing production relationships.... From development forms of the productive forces these relationships are turned into their fetters. Then an age of social revolution occurs. With a change in the economic base, a revolution in the entire enormous superstructure occurs more or less rapidly" [4].

In other words, one or another degree of socioeconomic development predetermines the sense and nature of the occurring social fundamental change. However, precisely this (main) aspect of the question is most often ignored by bourgeois sociology which prefers to be concerned solely with "its own" narrow sphere. As a result, various pseudoscientific schemes and models of revolutions are proposed and these distort the true essence and significance of the revolutions.² For the Marxist-Leninist sociology of revolutions it is most important to bring, as F. Engels said, their "true basis," that is, their socioeconomic causes [5].

Proceeding from this task, V. I. Lenin worked out the basic principle in the typology of social revolutions in the 20th Century depending upon the level achieved in society for the maturity of the material prerequisites for a transition to socialism, that is, in other words, upon the development level of capitalism and its antagonisms [6].

In accord with Lenin's typology, it is possible to isolate four groups of nations: 1) a high development level; 2) a medium one and 3) a low development level as well as 4) the most backward nations with the actual absence of any capitalist forms. Precisely this grouping was given in the Program of the Communist International adopted in 1928 [7].

At present, the situation, naturally, has altered substantially but the basic criterion for the typology proposed by V. I. Lenin is completely applicable today. However, it is essential to bear in mind certain other factors such as

² This was taken up in the previous article published in SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA (No 4, 1981).

the social structure, the overall political state of the society, international conditions and so forth, as without considering these it would be impossible to make a comparative analysis of the extremely diverse modern revolutions. Even within the same group of nations there has been constant mistiming and uneven development in the class struggle and a noncoinciding of its rhythms and forms. Moreover, certain traits are characteristics for a number of revolutions regardless of their zonal affiliation or the development level of capitalism.

It would be a naive oversimplification to reduce all these diverse phenomena to some rigid scheme, but nevertheless it is imperative to disclose certain main, coinciding trends. Let us endeavor to compare the most important revolutions of the 1970's. This group could include revolutions in 15 countries: Peru, Panama, Chile, Nicaragua (Latin America); Libya, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and Zimbabwe (Africa); Portugal (Western Europe); Laos, Kampuchea, South Vietnam, Iran and Afghanistan (Asia). This group could be both enlarged and narrowed since the isolating of precisely these revolutions is rather hypothetical. But first it is essential to clarify the question of whether it is valid generally to consider as revolutions those processes which have occurred, for example, in Peru, Bolivia and Panama during the years of the existence of military nationalistic regimes. Is it possible to consider the anticolonial struggle of the Zimbabwe people as a revolution? Analogous questions can also arise for a number of other countries.

Those who answer this question negatively, that is, exclude the designated processes from the category of revolutions usually voice as an argument the thesis that neither in Peru, Panama or Zimbabwe did a fundamental shift occur in the socioeconomic system and capitalism was not destroyed. But with such an approach, how should one judge the Paris Commune, the actions of the masses in 1905-1907 in Russia or the Portuguese or Chilean revolution?

It is important, we feel, with all the attention to the socioeconomic content of revolutions and their role in the transition from one formation to another not to overlook their social and political significance. A class shift in the nature of power in far from all instances is immediately accompanied by profound socioeconomic changes as time is needed for carrying out the latter and the new powers frequently do not have enough time. Often the politically victorious revolution is defeated precisely on the socioeconomic front. Even those movements which were defeated or were restricted to just a temporary change in the class structure of power are rightly social (or more accurately political) revolutions. "Any political coup, if this is not just a change of titles, is a social revolution" [8], pointed out V. I. Lenin.

In the broad sense by a social revolution one should understand the natural form of transition from one socioeconomic formation to another. But when it is an issue of a political revolution, one has in mind a change in the class nature of power. "The transition of state power from the hands of one class into the hands of another," wrote V. I. Lenin, "is the first, main and basic feature of a revolution in the strictly scientific and also the practical political meaning of this concept" [9]. This conclusion is of central methodological importance and is well known, but in assessing specific events is not always taken into account. In actuality, the 1974 revolution in Portugal did

not lead to a change in formations but clearly, due to the overthrow of fascism "the most essential: the organization of state power" [10] was changed. Important shifts have also occurred in the nation's economy and in particular the monopolistic sector was eliminated.

Social revolution is a process of acute class struggle, the outcome of which depends upon a multiplicity of objective and subjective factors. "Each revolution," wrote K. Marx, "destroys the old society insofar as it is a social one. Each revolution overthrows the old power and insofar it has a political nature.... Revolution generally--the overthrowing of existing power and the destruction of old relations--is a political act" [11].

If we look at social practices in the 1970's from this standpoint, it is possible to make a definite comparative analysis of the main aspects of most recent revolutionary experience. In contrast to the slow and painful evolutionary path, revolution in a single blow clears the way forward. Revolutions in which the people act independently have a particularly progressive nature. "Revolution," wrote V. I. Lenin, "are a holiday of the suppressed and exploited. Never is the mass of people capable of acting as the active creator of new social formations as during a revolution. In such times the people are capable of miracles from the viewpoint of the narrow, Philistine measure of gradual progress" [12].

Precisely such a holiday in our times has occurred in the lives of the peoples of many nations. The 1970's were particularly full of them.

The new trends in the development of revolutionary processes become particularly apparent in comparing them according to the basic criteria. A comparison of revolutions by different indicators is not a simple task since the criteria cannot be rigid here. Let us assume it is a question of the degree of development of capitalism which, as V. I. Lenin pointed out, determines the objective basis of a revolution, the structure of the driving forces and the socioeconomic content. But what indicator can characterize, in turn, the degree of development of capitalism as low, average or high? Obviously, there is no such synthesizing indicator and there cannot be one. Only a group of features (the degree of the socialization of production, the proportional amount of industry and agriculture, the share of hired labor in the gainfully employed population, per capita national income and so forth) makes it possible to ascertain at what stage of development a society stands and what are the objective tasks and possibilities of the revolution. Such multidimensional analysis is complex but without a general evaluation of the level of capitalist development, it is impossible to begin a comparison of revolutionary processes for the individual groups of nations.

In relying on the research by Soviet and foreign Marxist scholars, it is possible to group the nations in which revolutions have occurred depending upon the overall development level of capitalism. Immediately one is struck by the fact that all of them (with the exception of Portugal) have occurred not in the citadels of modern imperialism but rather in its borderlands.

Even K. Marx and F. Engels pointed out that revolutionary processes in individual countries will develop differently and not necessarily simultaneously. "In the extremities of the bourgeois organism," wrote K. Marx aptly, "violent disturbances should naturally occur earlier than in its heart, where there are greater opportunities for compensation" [13].

This idea was developed by V. I. Lenin. In the age of imperialism, it is relatively "easier for a movement to start in those nations which do not belong among the exploiting countries which have an opportunity to more easily plunder and are able to buy off the upper strata of their workers" [14].

The experience of the 1970's has shown that this tendency continues to survive at present. Many nations in which revolutions have occurred over the last decade are in the group of states with an average development level of capitalism (Portugal, Iran, Chile and Nicaragua) while others stand on a lower development level (Ethiopia and Kampuchea). In a portion of the nations, in using the words of F. Engels, prior to the revolution there were actually "represented all degrees of social development, starting from the primitive community and ending with modern large-scale industry and a financial oligarchy where all these contradictions were violently checked by despotism..." [15].

Thus, the revolutions in the last decade have occurred in that zone where capitalism was least developed but where feudal and semifeudal orders were particularly strong in the social system. (Only in Chile and Portugal had the bourgeois method of production reached maturity, although as a whole it here had fallen significantly behind the leading imperialist powers.) Many particular features of the class struggle were determined not only by the development level of local capitalism but also by the degree of their dependence upon imperialism. Along with outright colonies (Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe) these tasks were intertwined, giving the revolutions objectively an anti-imperialist and antioligarchical (predominantly antifeudal) content. In those countries where capitalism had reached a medium level of development, in the content of the revolutionary processes there appeared anticapitalist (socialist) aspirations which were expressed by the working class and its party.

A comparison of the three indicators (the development level of capitalism, the degree of dependence upon imperialism and the objective aims of the revolution) indicates a direct linkage between the socioeconomic content of the revolutionary processes and the development of the productive forces and production relationships. This is natural since a social revolution should eliminate precisely those forms of production relations which impede progress in the productive forces. Among those forms are primarily the feudal and semifeudal orders and dependence on imperialism. In a number of countries (Chile and Portugal) the revolutionary task was to undermine the domination of the local monopolies and in all countries, the foreign monopolies which had endeavored to subordinate the development of the national economy to their own selfish interests.

In the political sphere, the revolutionary transformations were aimed primarily at destroying colonialism and the antipopular despotic regimes, even if the latter had endeavored to carry out certain bourgeois reforms. The question of democratizing the state system and strengthening the national revolutionary forces in the structure of power was always at the center of attention.

The structure of the driving forces of the revolutions was also determined depending upon the imminent objective needs of social progress and the related balance of class forces. In all the revolutions, although with varying force, the decisive role of the masses of people was apparent, that is, the workers, peasants, the urban middle classes, artisans, students and other groups. Particularly active were the city workers as at crucial moments they organized general strikes, they conducted an armed struggle against imperialism and created new bodies of power on the spot. As a whole, the peasantry was more passive, although the "lower" strata of the peasantry took a most active part in the liberation rebel movement of a number of countries (Angola, Mozambique, Laos, South Vietnam and Zimbabwe).

The urban petty bourgeoisie struggled energetically for the democratization of power, but as the social nature of the revolution deepened its militancy declined. K. Marx and F. Engels in the "Appeal of the Central Committee to the Union of Communists" (March 1950), having noted the important role of the petty bourgeoisie in a bourgeois democratic revolution, pointed to the inevitable limitation of demands which this class viewed as an absolute "maximum of what generally could be expected from revolution" [17, p 261].

This conclusion, as the experience of the 1970's shows, at present remains valid although the enemies of Marxism have endeavored to prove the reverse, in asserting that in all popular revolutions of the last decade the middle urban strata, including the petty bourgeoisie, have played the most active role. Such a conclusion is erroneous as it is based on identifying the middle strata (white collar personnel, intelligentsia and others) with small property owners who differ substantially from one another in terms of material conditions of life, interests and political conduct.

There has been a new confirmation in the practice of the revolutionary struggle for the well-known conclusion of K. Marx and F. Engels that "the petty bourgeoisie wants the quickest possible end to the revolution," while the interests of the proletariat and its efforts are aimed at "making the revolution permanent until the more or less well-off classes are removed from power and until the proletariat wins state power...," and that "in the forthcoming bloody conflicts...chiefly the worker must win a victory by his courage, decisiveness and readiness for self-sacrifice" [17, pp 261-262].

However, the present critics of Marxism are against this thesis, in endeavoring to play down the contribution of the proletarian strata to the victory of the people's revolutions of the 1970's.

If one reflects on the thoughts of K. Marx and F. Engels about the role of the proletariat in ensuring the permanency of revolution, one cannot help but conclude that the place of the proletariat in a democratic revolution is determined not only and, possibly, not so much by the amount and form of its involvement in the initial stage of the struggle against old power (often a strictly destructive function is inherent to precisely the proletarian groups) as its objective interest in continuing the revolution to the end. In other words, the objective position of the proletariat in a society determines not only its involvement in the struggle against the old, but also its revolutionary creative function of the fighter for a new social system. This is why an evaluation of

the proletariat's role in a people's revolution can only be given considering all the cycles of the revolution's development. Of course, this does not exclude the importance of concrete analysis of the revolution's driving forces at each stage. It is important not to overlook that the working class will endeavor to continue the revolution while the other participants will "grow tired" even at the first stage where they are capable of acting with the greatest energy.

The experience of the 1970's has shown that precisely the proletariat has been the most consistent revolutionary force and not only a destructive but also a creative one. A socialist orientation, as a rule, has been the victory of proletarian elements. Petty bourgeois democracy, in supporting this trend, has acted thus most often because the working class stood behind it. In truth, in many countries the working class has acted so far within the masses of people but has already announced itself as the most revolutionary force.

The popular factor in the revolutionary movement of the 1970's has thrown the national bourgeoisie to the sidelines and this class, in fearing the "lower orders," has sided with the counterrevolution. In certain revolutions (Zimbabwe, Iran and Nicaragua) it has acted, although very timidly, together with the other democratic forces. In the remaining instances the national bourgeoisie has either acted basically from reactionary positions or has remained neutral, in striking compromises with the old powers and opposing the new popular authorities. In all instances the national bourgeoisie has acted very cowardly and indecisively, in preparing at any moment to sacrifice national interests for the sake of its own narrow class goals. A situation has developed reminiscent of the one in Russia in 1905-1907. Being objectively interested in liberation from imperialist dependence, in the democratizing of power and the eliminating of feudal vestiges, the national bourgeoisie, in fearing the energy of the masses of people, struck a deal with imperialism and the oligarchy. The petty bourgeoisie, immediately after coming to power, moved to the right, the peasantry behaved unevenly and at times passively while only the proletariat and the middle urban strata from beginning to end acted consistently and courageously, setting the example for the other social groups.

Depending upon the balance of class forces, on the one hand, and the existing political traditions, on the other, forms of the ideological-political and organizational leadership over the mass struggle have arisen in the various stages of the revolution. During the period of the struggle for power, in many countries, along with the political revolutionary parties (if such existed), a particularly important role was played either by the military-patriotic rebel fronts or by secret revolutionary organizations of the leftist officers. In Afghanistan, Laos, South Vietnam and other countries, in the revolution the leading role was played by Marxist-Leninist parties and in Iran the masses were headed by the religious-political opposition. In those countries where along with communist parties there were also popular military-political fronts (Laos, South Vietnam) where the communist participation and leadership, both organizations fought jointly, in following a common strategy.

In a number of nations, for example, in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Nicaragua, the leadership function belonged to the military-political fronts which brought together party, military (guerrilla and rebel) and organizational

functions. In those nations where the party structure remained undeveloped or the revolutionary parties were relatively small and weak, the patriotic officer class was the initiator of the revolution (Libya, Peru, Ethiopia and others).

If the structure of the revolution's basic social forces is compared with the nature of ideological and political hegemony, then one can note a definite relationship between them, namely: where the middle strata have played a more active role, the revolutionary aspirations of military democracy have been most vividly apparent, since precisely this has been the leading force of the middle strata. In Zimbabwe, Iran and Nicaragua, where the national bourgeoisie has not completely abandoned the revolution and initially acted with the people, the officer class remained on the side of the reaction.

The specific balance of class forces and the nature of ideological and political leadership largely determined the forms for carrying out the revolutions. Here an important role was also played by the conduct of the enemy, the traditions and particular features of the situations. In Chile the revolution developed peacefully. In Afghanistan, Libya, Peru, Portugal and Ethiopia, due to the fact that the revolution was started by the armed forces against which the counterrevolution did not dare to raise arms (in any event up to a certain moment), things also did not reach bloodshed. But in many countries, for long years there was a civil war or a liberation anticolonial struggle (Angola, Iran, Zimbabwe, Laos, Mozambique, Nicaragua and South Vietnam).

The shift in the class nature of power is the most important feature of any true revolution, V. I. Lenin emphasized. In this regard the experience of the 1970's is also very indicative. In a majority of instances, new revolutionary-democratic forces came to power, with the overthrow of monarchic and dictatorial regimes, feudal and compradore elements and imperialist colonial administrations. In a majority of the countries, state power shifted into the hands of revolutionary democracy and the workers of the city and countryside. In Laos, Kampuchea and South Vietnam, for example, a revolutionary dictatorship of the working class and peasantry was established. In Angola, Afghanistan, Mozambique, Nicaragua and Ethiopia, a socialist-oriented peoples-democratic state was established. Three revolutions--in Zimbabwe, Iran and Panama--basically had a bourgeois democratic character while nine states followed a path toward socialism with Laos, Nicaragua and Afghanistan moving farthest along of all.

All of this shows a substantial step ahead for the world revolutionary process, its diversity, naturalness and insurmountability.

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10272
CSO: 1806/23

ON THE SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Moscow SOTSIOLICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press
19 Apr 83) pp 37-43

[Article by Dmitriy Vladimirovich Yermolenko, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, Professor, specialist on the problems of international relations and section chairman of the Soviet Sociological Association. Author of the monographs "Sovremennaya burzhuaznaya filosofiya SShA" [Modern US Bourgeois Philosophy] (1965); "Nauchno-tehnicheskaya revolyutsiya i mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya" [The Scientific-Technical Revolution and International Relations] (1973); "Sotsiologiya i problemy mezhdunarodnykh otnosheniy" [Sociology and the Problems of International Relations] (1977). This is the first article in our journal.]

[Text] At present, there is not a single corner in the world where people do not closely follow the development of international events. To defend peace, to check the arms race, and primarily nuclear arms, to move mankind from under the sword of the thermonuclear threat hanging over him and to strengthen mutually advantageous cooperation between nations are problems which concern each honest man in the world.

The international situation has presently grown more acute. As was pointed out in the Political Declaration of the Warsaw Pact States adopted in January 1983, "as a result of the further activation of the aggressive forces, the development of world events has assumed an evermore dangerous nature" [3]. The actions of the most reactionary circles in the capitalist countries are aimed at shaking the solely reasonable basis for relations between states with different social systems, that is, peaceful coexistence. The tendency toward a lessening of international tension has suffered significant harm. Instead of cooperation, the aggressive forces want to impose a confrontation, they are threatening "crusades" and are endeavoring to weaken political contacts and disrupt mutually advantageous economic, trade, scientific-technical and cultural ties.

The desire of the aggressive forces to increase the arms race to a qualitatively new stage represents an extreme danger for mankind. The threat of nuclear war is thus increased. "All the efforts of the states, the activeness of governments, organized political forces and all citizens in each country should be directed at preventing a nuclear catastrophe. There cannot be and is not more important a question," stressed the Appeal "To Parliaments, Governments, Political Forces and Peoples of the World" adopted at the joint ceremony of the

CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet on 22 December 1984 [4]. The position of the USSR is clear and consistent. It was clearly restated in the report of Yu. V. Andropov "Sixty Years of the USSR": "Nuclear war cannot be permitted, neither a small one, a large one, a limited one nor a total one" [2].

Under conditions where the struggle for peace has assumed the nature of one of the most massive movements in the world, when millions of simple people are endeavoring to have a positive effect on actual relations between states, greater interest has been shown in the scientific disciplines which study the problems of international life. Sociological science is taking an evermore active part in investigating foreign policy questions.

International relations are usually defined as an aggregate (system) of economic, political, ideological, legal, diplomatic, military and other ties and relations between states, groups of states (including those belonging to different socioeconomic formations), between basic classes as well as social, economic and political forces, social movements and organizations operating on the international scene [6, 7].

For an extended time during the period of the existence of exploiting states, relations on the foreign policy scene were organized not between peoples but rather between governments which were the implements of the classes ruling in the nation. Nevertheless the suppressed masses did have a definite impact on political and legal awareness and for this reason foreign policy to one degree or another reflected definite democratic aspirations and longings of the workers.

With the rise of the socialist states, the essence of foreign policy activities in the nations where the worker masses had come to power changed qualitatively. The collapse of imperialism's colonial system also contributed to the establishing of new principles of international relations. "Socialism opposes imperialism," emphasized the CPSU Program, "with a new type of international relations. The foreign policy of the socialist states, in being based upon the principles of peace, equality, self-determination of peoples, respect for the independence and sovereignty of all countries as well as the honest, humane methods of socialist diplomacy have had an increasing impact on the world situation. Under conditions where imperialism has ceased to play the dominant role in international relations and the socialist system plays an ever-greater role, when the influence of the states which have won national independence and the masses of people in the capitalist countries has grown strongly in world politics, a real opportunity has been created for the new principles advanced by socialism to win a victory over the principles of aggressive imperialist policy" [1].

At the present stage, the state is the basic principal of international relations.¹ It possesses such a quality due to the presence of public authority

¹ This circumstance does not exclude the existence of relations which are of an organizational nature and at the same time go beyond the limits of state activity specifically (relations between capitalist monopolies, [continued on following page]

and a certain territory or sovereignty. But the content of a state's foreign policy expresses the class essence of the given society. Thus, the relations between the socialist states are truly international for the aspirations of the peoples of these nations are actually embodied in foreign policy. Capitalist powers arrange relations between themselves proceeding primarily from the interests of their monopolistic bourgeoisie (and the goals of its various groups can enter into certain contradictions). At the same time, this policy is also exposed to influence from the suppressed classes.

As a whole, international relations in the world develop in the process of the interaction of states and systems of states. The interaction of countries belonging to different socioeconomic systems holds the most important place in the complex of modern international relations.

A broad spectrum of international relations is formed as a result of the interaction of both the productive forces and production relations within the nations participating in international intercourse as well as the class forces standing behind the states' foreign policy. The system of international relations also includes the common human problems of global significance (the preservation of peace, the questions of disarmament, the international division of labor, the rational use of energy and raw material resources, the conquering of space and the world's ocean, ecological problems and so forth). The latter are solved only in the process of the interaction of states and require a reciprocal consideration of one another's interests. It is not accidental that over a long period between nations there have existed definite arrangements which have gradually come to gain their legal expression in the form of international legal acts the number of which has continuously increased.

International life also develops on the basis of certain objective patterns the recognition of which is an indispensable condition for conducting a scientifically based foreign policy. The foreign policy activities of the USSR are aimed at utilizing the objective laws in the interests of the people and for truly humanistic purposes. For this reason, the CPSU and the Soviet state give great attention to broadening and deepening scientific research in the area of international relations and foreign policy. Upon the initiative of the CPSU Central Committee, a large group of organizations studying the mentioned problems has been set up in the country. Within the system of the USSR Academy of Sciences alone, there are presently seven institutes in the international field. The corresponding subdivisions and formations are also found in a number of other scientific and educational centers [7].

¹ [continued from preceding page]

transnational corporations and so forth). However, such ties in one way or another are controlled by the classes predominating in a society. The role of a principal of international relations has also been assumed by interstate governmental organizations (for example, the United Nations, UNESCO) and in individual instances non-governmental ones as well (World Peace Council and others).

Until recently the study of international relations and foreign policy has basically been carried out on a legal or historical level (within a course of general history and later as an independent discipline, the history of international relations and foreign policy).

Life has shown that the depicting of the broad spectrum of international relations within one or two areas of scientific knowledge is simply impossible. In recent years, the international subject has become a firm part of the subjects of study of many sciences which previously were not at all concerned with such questions. According to the estimates of the well-known sociologist Q. Wright, by the beginning of the 1950's, the problems of international policy in one way or another were examined by 23 scientific disciplines [8]. Gradually recognition began to be won by the idea of the need for an interdisciplinary approach and the creation of a single area of research on this basis. Here the role of leader was claimed by the political scientists (since it was a question primarily of political problems) and sociologists (due to the interdisciplinary nature of their science). At times, the opinion was voiced that a new special science should take the place of the interdisciplinary, synthetic area of knowledge. This question has still not been finally settled and obviously the debate will continue. Nevertheless, up to the present, Soviet political scientists and sociologists have done a number of studies, generalizations and empirical investigations in the area of international problems [9]. These have gained broad recognition by the scientific community and have been actually employed. Starting with the Sixth World Sociological Congress, Soviet sociologists have regularly spoken at these forums on the questions of the sociology of international relations.

Interest has also sharply increased in the study of international relations in capitalist countries. While prior to World War II bourgeois specialists, as a rule, did not go beyond normative or explanatory theories and the social impact from the research was comparatively slight, starting in the 1950's in the West there was a real "boom" in the study of international relations. Theories, schools, systems and concepts began to spring up like mushrooms. Many researchers of international relations obtained positions as consultants within the state system. The illusion arose that bourgeois science was capable of adequately reflecting the essence of the acutest problems of modern times while the foreign policy formulas worked out on this basis would ensure practical success in international affairs.

Such calculations were untenable as even the bourgeois press has been forced to recognize. In the words of the very prestigious journal in the West UNITED STATES NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, erroneous decisions proposed by political scientists and sociologists "cause one to seriously doubt their one-time proclaimed ability to diagnose and solve human problems in mass" [10]. Along with politicians, the magazine continues, sociologists and other representatives of the social sciences must be held responsible. At present, there are many analogous admissions. But the reason for the flimsiness of principles in the international policy of imperialism is not only in the prejudice of the methodological premises of bourgeois social science. In the given instance the question is not only one of the theoretical approaches (although some of the scholars are engaged in working out aggressive foreign policy doctrines), but rather in the

very course of the reactionary circles of resisting a lessening of international tension and exacerbating the situation in the world. Certain Western specialists in the area of the theory of international relations have recognized that many bourgeois politicians have lost a sense of reality. In being aware of to what lethal consequences this can lead, realistically thinking scholars have endeavored to use their influence for working out a more responsible and constructive policy. In turn, Soviet political scientists and sociologists in the course of contacts with their foreign colleagues have done everything to establish a realistic view in the West of the present-day international situation.

The Marxist-Leninist sociology of international relations is, in our opinion, an interdisciplinary area of scientific knowledge investigating the problem on the level of general and special theory and also on the level of empirical data. Here the general laws of the functioning and development of international relations are at the center of attention and dialectical and historical materialism, political economy and scientific communism play the role of the methodological basis. The subject area is comprised of the questions of the relationship of the economy and politics, domestic and foreign policy, the motivating forces in foreign policy activities, the nature, particular features and main trends of international life at one or another stage. As the main areas of studying international relations, one can propose the following.

1. The nature of international relations, their types, basic patterns, development trends, economic, scientific-technical, political, cultural and ideological aspects, the correlation of the objective and subjective factors, the role of the class struggle, classes and various social groups, the importance of the world systems, states, international organizations, parties, armed forces, masses of people and individuals in international relations.
2. The ways of creating a new type of relations between the states of the world socialist system, the impact of the latter on the entire complex of international relations and the problems of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems.
3. The impact on the world situation of the liberated states and primarily the socialist oriented countries.
4. Research on the central categories of the theory of international relations: war, peace, foreign policy doctrine, foreign policy concepts, foreign policy program, strategy, tactics, the main areas and principles of foreign policy, foreign policy goals and tasks, guidelines and targets.
5. A special study of the categories describing the status of a state: class nature, state interests, strength (might), international weight, economic, scientific-technical and military potentials, moral, ideological and psychological state of the population, the contacts and degree of unity with other states (system, union, bloc, coalition and so forth).

In the given context of particular significance is research on the problems of the military strategic equilibrium between the USSR and the United States, the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

6. An investigation of the categories and problems related to the practical realization of the foreign policy course and its diplomatic support: foreign policy situation, foreign policy actions (measure, action, step, talks and so forth), the mechanisms for preparing and taking foreign policy decisions, methods of contact, systematization, analysis and use of foreign policy information, methods of resolving foreign policy contradictions and conflicts, international agreements and arrangements, their forms, ways of achieving and stating, questions of disarmament and the "new economic order," and so forth.

7. Trends and possible alternatives for the development of international relations, foreign policy events and the elaboration of probable situations (forecasting).

In all the mentioned areas, Soviet scholars have acquired great experience and have conducted a large number of studies [5, 11]. The study of international relations is basically carried out by analytical methods, but this does not exclude the use of a number of particular procedures (the questioning of experts, situation analysis, formalized methods and so forth).

At one time in the West, the so-called modernist methods were widespread. Their authors felt that all foreign policy processes, without exception, could be formalized and thereby provide a mathematically accurate determination of the trends and turns in events and the predicting in all details of the conduct of officials in charge of foreign policy questions. However, significant obstacles were encountered in the actual realization of the mentioned approach. It merely took an "unplanned" political event and not only the forecasting of its future development but also the employment of the existing mathematical support was a hard-to-solve problem..

At the present stage of the science's development, the use of computers is possible in the collecting and storage of foreign policy information, in accounting for and generalizing the results of the questioning of experts, in calculating resources in the course of elaborating and carrying out foreign policy actions, in constructing models for the development of events and so forth. Obviously the playing through of simulation games on one or another problem can also provide definite results. Thus, formalization is of a useful and important but still auxiliary nature.

As practice has shown, the formalized methods can also serve reactionary and misanthropic goals. According to the announcement in the magazine TIME, the United States is testing out a system of simulation games (the Janus Program) in which the circumstances are forecast of the involving of mankind in a nuclear catastrophe [12]. A number of Western sociologists have participated in working out the mathematical support for the concepts of "limited nuclear war," "protracted nuclear war," the feasibility of making the first nuclear strike, they "scientifically" have backed up the aggressive policy in conflict and crisis situations, in particular the barbarian Israeli aggression against Lebanon and so forth.

Recently the sociological analysis of disarmament problems has assumed particular significance. Soviet scientists have done great work in this area. They have taken an active part in the public organizations concerned with the

questions of disarmament and in particular are providing the scientific background for these measures.

The elaboration and use of methods for foreign policy forecasting hold an important place in the sociological research on international relations.

In considering the great ambiguity of the future state of international relations in comparison with other objects of social forecasting, the corresponding studies should be based on a thorough investigation of the maximum number of circumstances comprising the foreign policy situation. It is essential first of all to consider the production-economic, geographic and demographic factors, scientific-technical potential, the socioclass nature of the state and its foreign policy, the balance of class forces and political groups in the nation, ideological and sociopsychological sets and traditions existing in the given society and so forth. In analyzing modern international relations and the prospects for their development, a central place is held by the study of the interaction of the two basic socioeconomic world systems on the international scene.

Foreign policy forecasts have a broad spectrum of goals: a) the elucidation of the general development trends of international relations and foreign policy; b) determining the long-term trends in the foreign policy activities of states; c) the constructing of a general picture for the possible development of international relations and the most essential alternatives for a certain period (long-term forecasts); d) the constructing of a detailed probable picture for the development of international events indicating the basic alternatives and branched variations with an approximate adding up for a series of scales (medium-term forecasts); e) a detailed investigation of many variations for the development of events within the basic alternatives and determining the maximum probable and optimum decisions by one or another principal of international relations (short-term forecasts).

Let us give one of the variations for compiling a foreign policy forecast. Here it is essential to consider the circumstance that depending upon the concrete conditions and the amount of available information, the equipment, technical devices and executors, the sequence of operations can be substantially changed. In a general form, the process of compiling a forecast includes a series of stages. 1. Determining the goal, tasks and time framework of the forecast. (Here it is essential to emphasize the following: for the development of each social process there is its own time interval and the more accurately this is determined the greater the dependability of the forecast). 2. The creating of the initial model for the phenomenon being forecast, the elucidation of its basic parameters, the criteria for assessing the latter and so forth (in the given instance the questioning of experts is most often employed.) 3. On the basis of the preceding scientific studies or an independent analysis, determining the leading trends in the development of the given phenomenon, their extrapolation (with the incorporating of the necessary adjustments) for the set time interval. 4. The constructing of a series of forecast models for a given date with the concretizing of the minimum, maximum and optimum values. 5. The questioning of experts and (or) specially selected persons for clarifying the elaborated models. 6. An assessment of the possible radical

changes in the course of events not covered by the extrapolation. 7. Ascertaining the discrepancies between the probable and optimum state of the forecast phenomenon or object at a given date with the subsequent formulating of the problems the solving of which is essential for the maximum reconciling of both states. 8. The elaboration of recommendations for planning and management. 9. A new questioning of experts (the same or others) for testing out the recommendations. 10. The constructing of a series of post-probability models, that is, models reflecting the probable consequences of implementing the recommended decisions. 11. One other questioning of the experts [13].

The range of questions which comprise the object of sociological research on international relations is very broad. The present article has examined only certain areas. The present-day international situation requires further active efforts by sociologists in studying foreign policy problems.

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CSO: 1806/23

NATIONAL LABOR TRADITIONS--AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN PRODUCTION INTENSIFICATION

Moscow SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press
19 Apr 83) pp 43-54

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[Text] In our social sciences, an effective and broad study is being made of the socioeconomic conditions for the development of ethnic communities. However, at present research is also needed on the ethnocultural conditions for the occurring of economic processes, particularly the reproduction and utilization of labor resources. The designated aspect in the relationship of nationality (ethnic) and economic phenomena as yet has not been properly taken up in the literature and has not been widely employed in the territorial planning practices. From this standpoint we have endeavored to examine the problems of the labor experience of the peoples, the employment of the population and economic growth.

As is known, in the current decade, the impact of the demographic factor on the economy will be unfavorable regardless of the direction and nature of demographic policy [3]. Moreover, the effective use of the available labor resources is substantially influenced by the discrepancy which has developed in our national economy between the dynamics of fixed capital and the labor force. One of the reasons is in the long prevailing orientation to building new enterprises to the detriment of modernizing existing ones. This orientation is

based upon the "inertia of economic thinking, according to which the idea predominates that the main thing is to create capital and capacity, to build new projects and manpower will easily be found" [4, p 31].

Moreover, the process of renewing fixed capital has frequently been carried out on the basis of one-sided oversimplified calculations of the economic effect and without considering the social consequences of the measures carried out, primarily the enriching of the content of labor and the facilitating of working conditions. At the same time, expenditures have risen sharply on education and vocational training for the younger generation (the transition to universal secondary education and to the training of workers in the secondary PTU [vocational-technical schools] and the technical schools based on the secondary schools). As a result serious imbalances have arisen in the system of the "aggregate of jobs--aggregate of workers." It is also essential to consider the territorial isolation of the designated processes. In the old cultural and industrial centers, where the share of educated youth is particularly high, the indicators of equipment obsolescence are the highest and the sectorial structure of the national economy is out of date. As a result, the range of jobs and enterprises which are unattractive for the local youth has grown wider. At the same time, there is a number of new enterprises which have been established predominantly in the agrarian (in the recent past) regions and possessing highly progressive equipment and these have encountered an unprepared labor force for such complex types of production. This structural deficit is the result of the failure to consider the qualitative aspect of reproduction in the labor resources and it has led to a situation where in a number of regions, even with sufficient labor resources, a portion of the jobs stands idle.

Under present-day conditions, the traditional economic approach to the problems of population employment is insufficient. There must be a study of the demands of the workers on their jobs in terms of the following parameters: the content and conditions of the work, involvement in management and social status. These demands are specific for the population categories which differ along demographic, social and ethnocultural lines. In order to have a real influence on the employment processes in the republics, to increase the effectiveness of employee labor and ensure the filling of jobs, it is essential to solve the problem of achieving rational employment using a balance method and considering the range of indicators for the qualitative state of both the labor resources and the jobs.

Hence, it is completely obvious that an analysis of population characteristics and of labor resources acquires foremost significance in determining the means and proportions of economic development. At present, only sex and age are taken into account in planning practices (when drawing up the balance of labor resources). Vocational training and education indicators have been taken into consideration in experimental methods by economists and sociologists [5, 6]. We try to show that a substantial role is also played by the nationality (ethnic) peculiarities of labor resources. If this thesis of ours is correct, then the questions of economic development fall within the purview of ethnography, which could play a constructive and--in many aspects--new role as an applied management discipline.

It should be noted that the problems of ethnography are closely linked with the questions traditionally studied by both ethnic and regional sociology. Cooperation between ethnographers and sociologists is developing efficiently. The integrated character of ethnography and the constructive opportunities it could offer demand equally active cooperation with economic science, especially with regional economics and integrated territorial planning. For representatives of ethnographic and economic science to combine forces is nothing new in science and economic practice [7, 8]. Nevertheless, the research that took place was not of a systematic nature and was not given the status of independent research area. Meanwhile, the development needs of science itself and the requirements of practice dictate the need to pay greater attention to this sphere of interdisciplinary research.

During the postwar years economic anthropology (economic ethnography or ethno-economics in the context of our traditional terminology) has been widely developed in the West and is becoming more and more significant year by year. In the opinion of Yu. I. Semenov who has studied this trend in Western social sciences most fundamentally, the rapid growth of economic anthropology is the result of the emergence of young independent states in Asia, Africa and Oceania [9]. The striving to direct these countries along the path of capitalist development assumed a detailed knowledge of their economic structure and their production and labor traditions. G. Dalton, one of the eminent representatives of economic anthropology, has written: "We often forget that 80 percent of the Third World's population live in small...tribal and peasant communities. This is why, when the new nations directed their efforts toward economic development and cultural transformation, a corresponding interest arose in the problems of economic anthropology--there was widespread study of tribal and peasant economies in the precolonial, colonial, and postcolonial periods [10, p 69]. In his opinion, the West must show the Third World its path of development, and to do this it must study the traditional economy and social organization of developing countries, discover what hinders and what assists their economic development, and find the least painful way for the Third World to adopt new economic and social institutions. Dalton and other authors are highly skeptical here about the possibilities of raising these countries' economies to the level of, say, the United States, considering it impossible to reorganize their social organizations and traditional institutions. "Growth without development"--that is the "concept" of progress for most of mankind as held by economic anthropologists [10, pp 70-71, 88]. It is obvious how alien the "experience" of economic anthropology is to Marxist-Leninist theory and the practice of real socialism.¹

It is in the economic sphere that the humanist nature of the Leninist Party's nationality policy is most fully manifested. The de facto inequality between peoples was eliminated during the building of socialism in our country, and the

¹ Here we do not refer to the raising of corresponding problems in Anglo-American sociology, although today such an "ethnographic" subject as the contemporary ethnic processes and interethnic relations is mainly within the purview of Western sociologists and not of representatives of cultural-social anthropology (in other words, ethnography).

task of equalizing the levels of economic development of Union and autonomous republics was basically resolved. As was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, from the very first years of Soviet power, economic and social policy was organized so as to raise, as quickly as possible, Russia's national borderlands up to the development level of its center [1, p 55]. Suffice it to say that for many years the budgets of a number of republics had to balance their expenditure by subsidies from the all-Union budget. A most important role in liquidating the backwardness of the national borderlands was played by the close cooperation between all nations in the country and mainly by the lofty humanism and selfless assistance of the Russian working class. Today a uniform national economic complex exists, based on the common economic goals and interests of all nations and ethnic groups. Each republic's economy occupies an important position in the Union-wide division of labor and makes a weighty contribution to the country's national wealth [see 11].

The solution of the complicated socioeconomic tasks of mature socialism calls for joint efforts by working people in all the republics and the active mobilization of material and labor resources. The rational location of production forces, the opening up of natural resources in the Eastern regions, the establishment of major territorial production complexes, and the implementation of the Food Program are all based on due regard for two interconnected, progressive trends in the nationality relations characteristic of socialism: the comprehensive development and integration of nations. In the economic sphere these trends take the form of, on the one hand, the comprehensive development of republic economies and the deepening of specialization in the republics and, on the other, intensified production sharing between them. Both trends act in indissoluble unity.

Over the last few five-year plans, CPSU policy has been oriented toward the implementation of both trends, and this has been reflected in the determination of the scale, rate, and nature of each republic's economic development. In 1970-1981, the volume of industrial output has increased as follows: 143 percent in Belorussia, 135 percent in Azerbaijan, 128 percent in Armenia, 109 percent in Moldavia, 104 percent in Georgia, 103 percent in Uzbekistan, 101 percent Kirghizia, 97 percent in Lithuania, 92 percent in Tajikistan, 79 percent in the RSFSR, 77 percent in the Ukraine, Turkmenistan and Estonia, 75 percent in Kazakhstan and 60 percent in Latvia [12]. For the 11th Five-Year Plan, it is planned to increase industrial output 26-28 percent in the USSR as a whole, while in a number of republics the growth will be higher: 28-31 percent in Uzbekistan, 29-32 percent in Azerbaijan and Armenia, and 30-33 percent in Georgia and Moldavia [1, pp 147, 190-194].

The tasks of implementing the main principles (which remain fundamentally unaltered) of CPSU nationality policy are set in a new way at each significant stage of the country's development. At present, the USSR is entering a qualitatively new stage of its economic development, involving the intensification and structural reorganization of the economy on the basis of material- and energy-saving forms of technical progress (with a decisive role being played by microelectronics and especially by microprocessors), new forms of production organization and management, and so forth.

"Contemporary production forces," Yu. V. Andropov has noted, "require integration even when we are talking about different countries. They require to a much greater extent the close and skillful unification of efforts by different regions and republics in one single country. The most sensible utilization of the natural and labor resources and the climatic peculiarities of each republic and the most rational incorporation of this potential within the all-Union potential--this is what will bring the greatest advantage to each region, to each nation and ethnic group, just as it will to each state.

"This is our principle aim.... The task, of course, is not simple, but it is ripe for solution, and its solution promises significant gains" [2].

Optimization of labor potential utilization under the conditions of a transition to intensive forms of economic management is a natural and inevitable phenomenon. Its most important components are the standard of the population's vocational training and skills and the workers' preparedness to work efficiently (the value orientation and motivation of workers). Nevertheless, the nature of labor experience, the vocational habits, and the system of setting standards of values all depend to a great extent on national traditions in general and traditions in the labor sphere in particular.

This fact has not gone unnoticed by Soviet economists and sociologists. In 1960-1970, this problem was written about by G. A. Prudenskiy [13, 14], N. N. Nekrasov [15], V. G. Kostakov and Ye. L. Manevich [16] and V. N. Kirichenko [4]. The last one in particular noted that the major integrated production enterprises under construction in the cities of Central Asia, the Transcaucasus and Moldavia were not supplied with local labor resources owing to "insufficient habits of industrial labor, low territorial mobility of the population, poor knowledge of Russian among people from indigenous nationalities, and the relatively underdeveloped network for personnel training" [4, p 34]. On the whole, the opinions of these authors are correct and substantiated and, just like the recommendations they put forward, sufficiently general in character.

The above-mentioned group of economists proceeds from the main criterion for classifying the national republics from the position of reproduction of labor resources: those with a labor surplus and those with a labor shortage. The recommendations which follow (for instance, the development of the light and food industry in regions in the first group) are based on this criterion. The discussion of specific recommendations is outside the scope of our article. We only wish to stress that Moldavia, Kazakhstan, and all republics in Central Asia and the Transcaucasus, included in one and the same group of labor-surplus republics, are unique national formations. They all have different conditions for human daily activities and different labor traditions.

The typology, the analysis of specific situations and the recommendations all require strict scientific substantiation, such as could be offered by a knowledge of the cultural (including the ethnographic) aspect of the reproduction and utilization of labor resources. By this we mean a knowledge of the ethnic and national characteristics of labor customs and traditions, the possibilities for adapting them to modern production processes, and ways of ensuring their specific transformation in the interests of boosting the cultural and creative potential of each one of the Soviet peoples on the one hand, and the interests of comprehensive intensive development of the USSR economy on the other.

The labor traditions problem is closely linked with the ethnic aspects of mankind's ecology. Of course, under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution the interrelationship between man and nature has acquired a global character. But in our time we see sufficiently clearly the manifestations of substantial differences in the interaction between different peoples and nature. The further back we go into the past, the stronger their effect.

These differences are determined by both sides of the system under discussion--both nature and people. Differences in ethnic character are of special significance among the other factors. The point is that ethnic communities, as is well known, differ from other social associations by their considerable stability. Linked with this is another factor, highly essential for the interaction with the natural environment--their relative duration, measured in centuries or millenia. It is obvious that human communities adapt to their habitat. Decisive significance here is given to the system of means and mechanisms of extrabiological adaptation. Only culture (in the widest sense of the word) is such a system, since one of its fundamental functions is the adaptation of people to their environment and the maintenance of their collective life.

The cultural adaptation of people to the natural environment is not only a protection against factors which are unfavorable for life, but also denotes the utilization of that environment for people's existence. All this determines the influence of the natural environment on the ethnos. Furthermore, the geographical environment influences the ethnos in many ways indirectly, via the development of production forces.

It is characteristic that different peoples make by no means identical use of the opportunities provided by one and the same geographical landscape. The selection of one opportunity or another depends mainly on the level of society's socioeconomic development. It is no accident that in different parts of the inhabited world peoples that are at approximately identical levels of socioeconomic development and under similar natural conditions often develop analogous systems for utilizing the natural resources, or the so-called economic-cultural types [17].

But despite the significance of the level of socioeconomic development in ethnic groups for the utilization by them of the resources of individual landscape zones, the variety of economic activity within the boundaries of such zones cannot be attributed only to this factor. Quite a few cases are known of peoples, at approximately identical levels of socioeconomic development and under similar natural conditions, creating unidentical economic-cultural types and using analogous resources in quite different ways. This type of variety is obviously conditioned by the originality of the socioeconomic and political history of peoples which influences to a large extent the adherence to certain economic sectors, the specific characteristics of organization and management in the labor process, the personal relationships between workers, the system of evaluating man's labor activity, and the views on moral values. This variety is stamped on the specific cultural traditions of the ethnic communities.²

² It would, in our opinion, be exceptionally fruitful to compare the national imagery of respected people and good workers ("golden hands," "matters [continued on following page]

The ordering of economic life, as it has developed over a long time, is distinguished by high stability, which could be described as conservatism. We should not, however, forget the other important process in the life of society --continuity and ability to accumulate experience in production and social life.

More than anything else, the development of agriculture is evidence of the extremely durable economic traditions of peoples [19-21]. An example of the ethnic differentiation in economic traditions can be seen in the preservation of a certain agricultural specialization among the three peoples inhabiting the Transbaykal region (and moreover, often overlapping): Buryats, Russians and Evenks. Among the Russians, land cultivation remains the main sector of agriculture, while livestock breeding still retains its leading significance among the Buryats, although land cultivation has spread noticeably under the influence of the Russians. As regards the Evenks, their economy is still characterized by the combination of three sectors: hunting, reindeer-raising and fishing.

Historically, the economic specialization of each ethnos people is, as a rule, determined by the correlation (at the moment of its emergence) of two factors: the level of socioeconomic development and the nature of the habitat. The choice by a given ethnos of one or another method (be it original or borrowed) of utilizing the natural means of life is determined by these factors. But the extent to which an economic system will become firmly established within the ethnos is determined to a large extent by the further stability of both socioeconomic life and the natural environment. In the event of their prolonged stability, the economic system which was established becomes a lasting tradition and, in a way, acquires its own inertia. This is why a change in the level of the socioeconomic development of the ethnos or its habitat by no means immediately brings about a change in the traditional sectors of the national economy, even despite the absence of sufficiently favorable economic conditions for them in the new region of settlement.

There is no doubt at all that even under today's conditions the traditional sectors, and especially agriculture, food and light industry, and handicrafts develop on the basis of labor traditions (carpet weaving in Central Asia, knit-wear manufacture in Latvia, woodworking and artistic casting in Russia, leather goods manufacture in Dagestan, and so forth). It is, however, just as obvious that the growing complexity of the national economy's structural composition in the regions poses serious problems for the central planning and the regional (including republic) management organs; the former have to attain a maximum effect from the location of the production processes, while the latter have to

² [continued from preceding page]

prosper in his hands," "has the knack," "knows all the tricks," and so forth). This would be useful not only from the viewpoint of cultivating labor morals among the younger generation but also for improving the system of labor incentives, organizing socialist competition, and improving the management of labor collectives. Methodologically similar work has already been done by V. YTe. Khmelko [18].

raise the level of economic development and increase the production and general culture of the people. This is where is felt the people's experience, customs and habits, in a word, tradition, which is a double-edged factor from the viewpoint of a territory's economic development: in some cases it is positive, in others negative in its effect on national economic efficiency. This is why it would not be out of place to turn back to the term "tradition" and interpret it in the context of the problem that is being examined.

It is well known that, to a significant extent, traditions are aimed at adapting people to the lasting and stable features of the environment. This is a universal mechanism which, thanks to the historical range of human experience, its concentration, and its transmission across territory and through time, makes it possible to ensure the steady adaptive social reproduction of people. Traditions can be differentiated according to their universally applicable or local components. The latter consolidate the experience of life which reflects the special conditions of existence in a given territorial (natural and socio-economic) environment. Cultural traditions today still remain a universal means of ensuring the stability of social organisms [22]. "It is true that the temporal duration of socially stereotyped forms of experience has become, as a rule, significantly shorter than in the previous epochs of mankind's history" [ibid., p 87].

It is characteristic that in the last few years the formerly restrained and in many respects negative approach to traditions has been supplanted by a careful study of traditions for the purposes for directing the processes of socioeconomic development and of forecasting on global and regional levels. More and more attention is being paid to historical, cultural, and ethnic traditions and characteristics during global and regional model-making when singling out and measuring the factors of social development. It has been suggested that changes in the level of human resources are determined to a large extent by cultural traditions coupled with geographical factors [23]. As V. P. Kuzmin has correctly remarked, "historical continuity is one of the main characteristics of the natural-historic process in society. Continuity plays a significant role in the fields of social production, forms of social organization, traditions in the development of science and culture, and so forth. Many phenomena live on for centuries and millenia in the living organism of society. A correct and deep understanding of society's life includes an analysis of its history and an understanding of this entire scale of motivations and changes in social structures and their continuity, making it possible to accumulate achievements of labor, knowledge, and social experience and to steadily expand the general foundation (basis) itself of human civilization" [24].

Now we have a firmly established way of life common to all Soviet people and uniform socioeconomic relations which are typical of the society of developed socialism and determine the most important and most essential manifestations of human daily activity, cementing their international community. There is also a concurrent preservation and reproduction of national idiosyncrasies and traditions which comprise a precious asset of the multifaceted and rich creative potential of the Soviet people.

The meaning of the task posed by life can be formulated as follows: it is necessary to ensure the utilization of traditional habits in the sphere of labor and their enrichment and renewal on the basis of implementing a balanced

labor and their enrichment and renewal on the basis of implementing a balanced process of organically developing labor continuity between and within generations.

It has to be borne in mind, however, that cultural tradition exerts different influences on the results of labor when applied to specific variations of organization and management, to specific technology, and, finally, to the finished product. The original experience in labor activity established within the framework of a national culture helps to produce high results in some circumstances but prevents the achievement of a similar outcome in others. Being a thrifty master means safeguarding and applying the valuable labor habits accumulated by many generations.

Let us take as an example the experience of development in the United States which has been thoroughly studied by ethnographers. Each one of the ethnic groups which joined the mainstream of U.S. society at different times possessed individual characteristics determined by its history and its social and cultural traditions. Not just decades but centuries have now passed, but nonetheless even today it is possible to distinguish specific vocational characteristics within the framework of the unified economy of the American nation, despite the absence of special ethnoterritorial units and historically different ethnic elements.

Ethnic groups continue to play their role in the vocational and sectoral divisions of labor of the, so to say, horizontal type, which is unconnected with socioeconomic inequality but has been caused by labor experience and cultural traditions. Thus, Germans account for a more significant share than any other group of the farming population; emigrants from Britain provided the United States with a particularly large number of miners; Italians--building workers; Greeks--caterers; there is a particularly large number of auto industry workers among Poles; and so forth [25].

Leaders in sectors and enterprises and a significant proportion of our economists are inclined to single out and resolve just one problem: adapting the worker to a given production process or a specific job in the belief that, as a result of universal education, this task is no longer so complex. But life has confirmed time and again that man is not a passive object of the process of cultural adaptation. Furthermore, being a representative of an established and durable culture, he subjectivizes the process of "job worker" and (more broadly) "enterprise-worker" interaction.

Thus, the question arises of the invariability or polyvariability of those components in the production processes which are most significant in the process of this interaction. The first of them is the job, in other words the point at which the threads of the "man-production" relationship are tied or untied. This is what determines whether the enterprise will find an efficient worker or, on the other side of the coin, whether the latter will find work that satisfies him. Nevertheless, the relations which predetermine individual efficiency neither begin nor end with the job. The second component is the social organization at the enterprise and the nature of its functions. An important role is also played by the national economic sector and its special characteristics.

Let us begin with the sectors, since this is perhaps the only aspect of the "worker-production" interaction that has merited some attention by researchers of regional economics and labor resources. It is perfectly obvious that in any given case there is frequently a possibility of choice. "Frequently" does not mean always: the extracting industry sectors are "tied down" to the location of ore deposits; agricultural sectors also suffer from restricted mobility due to the effect of obvious natural and climatic factors. Nonetheless, there still remains a group of sectors in the processing industry, service industry, and information which is distinguished by freedom of choice in territorial location and high mobility. They employ the majority of working people: according to all forecasts these sectors of the secondary and especially the tertiary sphere in the national economy are increasing their relative share both in the number of employees and in the contribution to the national income.

The word "sector" also covers a definite job structure according to the required qualifications, the conditions and rhythm of labor, the remuneration, and the prestige, and a specific social organization of enterprises with their own systems of management, incentives, labor organization, and interpersonal relationships. But for now we will bypass without discussion these aspects of the specifically nonsectoral breakdown of the "worker--production" relationships. Thus, the strictly sectoral phenomena are: a) a specific function of activity; and b) the sector's status. It must be noted that these are by no means unimportant factors. Man is by no means indifferent to the results of his labor and the product which he helps to create. Already at this point national tradition begins to exert its influence on production behavior and especially on the worker's stability, and quite often on the very fact of the worker's recruitment into the production process.

An analysis of the sectoral structure of employment has shown the irregular way in which people from different nationalities gravitate toward specific sectors of the national economy, as well as toward sectors and subsectors of industry, services, and so forth [26].

Here the absolutely essential question arises of the optimal sectoral structure of the economy in the Union and autonomous republics and in major regions. The natural drawing together and leveling out of the republics' standards of economic development should not lead to congruence in the sectoral structure of their national economies. It would be incorrect to aim, for example, at using the sectoral structure of Latvia's industrial production as an ideal model for Tajikistan.³

It is well known that sectors differ substantially in the share of unskilled labor employed, the level of education required, the scientific intensiveness

³ Such proposals are by no means infrequent in economic literature. The authors consider methodologically justified the method which permits a standard to be set which is then striven for as the production forces develop. They propose that in doing this the standard could be set by the structure of employment which has emerged in such republics as Latvia, Estonia and the RSFSR. See, for example [27].

of production processes, the average cost of work places, the capital and power supply available per worker, and so forth. At first glance, the choice of a sectoral enterprise for location in a given region could seriously affect the level of its economic and social development. Nevertheless, certain clarifications are needed. In the first place, sectors with advanced indicators are comparatively numerous and, in this respect, interchangeable. From the viewpoint of republic and regional interests, on the other hand, the problem involves not the title or the prestige of the sector, but the improvement of such significant indicators as scientific intensiveness, education standards, and so forth. Secondly, under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution, revolutionary transformations are also occurring in the traditional sectors. Thus, the presently high relative share of agriculture and, correspondingly, the number of workers it employs out of the republic's total work force, does not in itself indicate backwardness in economic development. The world's and our own practice shows that today's highly efficient agriculture surpasses most industrial sectors in scientific intensiveness, capital availability, level of education required, and other similar parameters.

Nevertheless, what has been said does not mean that it is inevitable that the location of one enterprise or another on the territory of a region should be rejected on the strength of an estimated underefficiency in the utilization of workers from among the local population. We have already noted that it is possible to maneuver not only the choice of sectoral enterprises but also the forms of social organization and the technology and labor organization in jobs.

The social organization of the socialist enterprise is basically identical in all sectors and regions of the country. But within the limits of this general unity, social organization varies in some quite significant details and aspects of function. The most delicate social and psychological elements of workers' life develop in different ways depending on whether brigade leaders are elected or appointed, on whether a brigade leader council exists or not in shops and enterprises, on how the "13th salary" is distributed, on the methods of worker promotion, on whether the administrative management is democratic or autocratic, and on how young people and older workers are treated. Unfortunately, experts in the theory of management and organization usually bypass the question of the nature of management and social contacts in accordance with the social and ethno-cultural characteristics of workers. Recommendation for improving the efficiency of production collectives' functions do not touch on the issues of the individuality of social management objects and the differences in the preparedness of these objects to adopt, let us say, the brigade contract, the system of remuneration according to the coefficient of labor participation, and so forth.

The job (and here, by job we mean the obligatory functions assigned to a worker during the division of labor within the enterprise) offers especially broad opportunities for management maneuvering. The job is usually defined in terms of the content, organization and conditions of labor, the amount of wages, and prestige. Under such an "amalgamated" approach the worker's specifically national requirements cannot be revealed. What is needed is, if you like, a micro-approach, in other words a breakdown of each one of the above-mentioned characteristics into its component elements (for example, independence of labor; rhythm during the work shift period, the week and the year; intellectual level

of labor; nonroutine character of labor; and so forth). This process reveals the microcomponents of the labor process which, according to the population's traditional customs, are either convenient, habitual, and attractive. It is clear that here, at this level, an especially strong influence is exerted by traditions in daily labor and way of life.

The elaboration of regional social norms, in other words, norms for the reproduction and utilization of the labor force at enterprises, could be extremely important for the correct solution of the questions of optimizing the economic development of republics and regions in accordance with the labor habits of the population. These regional norms must incorporate the specific requirements of the indigenous population concerning work conditions, organization and incentives. They will make it possible to conduct specific planning and management activities on the basis of consideration for national labor traditions and will assist the painless adaptation of workers to the conditions of contemporary production processes, rather than the "adaptation" of the latter to the peculiarities of labor resources.

Nevertheless, the trends of mature socialism's development under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution require that, within a clearly definable period, the population of all republics and regions be correspondingly adapted to labor activity in today's science-intensive and power- and labor-saving production processes. We suggest that the speeding up of this transformation of customs and traditions and their supplementation and enrichment on the basis of internationalist labor processes can be achieved to a decisive extent by specific social education during childhood, at the early stages of socialization. The comparative study of socialization among different peoples is a precondition for increasing the efficiency of the USSR national economy. But this is a subject for a separate article.

We would note in conclusion that in this article, we have only listed the range of production problems to whose solution ethnographic knowledge is capable of contributing. What is needed for this is specialized comprehensive research to put in order the requirements and demands made by sectors and production processes on the labor force on the one hand, and the requirements and demands of the indigenous population in the USSR republics and regions on the circumstances of their labor activity, on the other. It seems clear that the program for the first part of such research ("optimal worker profile") would include: a) a list of the general characteristics of workers required by contemporary production processes; b) a list of the specific characteristics of workers required for efficient labor in a given sector or vocation. It must be noted that in this direction we have not only accumulated a certain potential of ideas and methods, but we also have the good practical experience of the best production associations. The other direction of this research ("optimal job profile") requires a study of the cultural traditions of indigenous populations to discover lasting trends and routine behavior in production. Such information is not available in a systematic form in the work of Soviet ethnographers. There are good reasons behind V. I. Kozlov's suggestion (made to the authors during discussion on this article in manuscript form) to set up a "register" in the USSR republics and oblasts which would provide a systematic list of ethno-cultural traditions in production. Such a "register" would make it

possible to determine the development level of specific (in other words, particularly needed for specific production processes and professions) labor habits among representatives of a given ethnic and cultural community.

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CSO: 1806/23

AT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE LITHUANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Moscow SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press
19 Apr 83) pp 55-58

[Unattributed article]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party [LiCP] has adopted the Decree "On the Work of the Party and Social Organizations in the Town of Kapsukas and Kapsukskiy Rayon to Strengthen the Family and Improve Its Indoctrinational Role."

The Decree of the LiCP Central Committee has pointed out that the Kapsukas gorkom of the LiCP, the town and rayon executive committees of the soviets, the party, trade union and Komsomol organizations in the town and rayon, in carrying out the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures to Improve State Aid to Families Having Children" and the Third Plenum of the CPLi Central Committee on the tasks of the republic party organization in the area of strengthening the moral indoctrination of the population, have consistently carried out measures aimed at solving socioeconomic problems, establishing the Soviet way of life, strengthening the family and increasing its role in the upbringing of children.

These questions were repeatedly discussed at the plenums of the party gorkom, at sessions of the executive committees and in the party, trade union and Komsomol organizations. Efforts have been made to increase the personal responsibility of the communists and Komsomol members for the moral and ethical state of their families and for the upbringing of children.

With economic growth, the prosperity of the population has risen, the housing conditions of the families, their cultural, domestic and trade services have improved and the network of children's preschool institutions has been developed. Just during the years of the 10th Five-Year Plan, over 4,000 families improved their living conditions, 46 stores and dining rooms were opened, 9 preschool institutions and more than 20 sports fields and facilities were put into operation and a children's club opened.

The party and trade union organizations and the economic leaders are endeavoring to create good conditions for working women enabling them to combine labor in social production with the raising of children. The collective contracts provide measures to improve working conditions and labor safety for women on the job.

In the town and rayon, work is being done in propagandizing pedagogical knowledge among parents. Amateur artistic creativity has been widely developed, particularly in the lower-level collectives.

The decree has pointed out that the implemented measures are insufficient and still do not always produce the desired results. The demographic situation in the town and rayon is characterized by certain unfavorable trends and there still are a large number of dissolved marriages, single-parent families and a low birth rate. A significant number of divorces occurs in young families.

The party committees, the primary party and social organizations do not always properly judge those who commit amoral actions, destroy families, abandon their parental duty or raise children poorly. The situation in the families and the upbringing of children are negatively influenced by instances of dishonesty, unworthy conduct by certain parents, by the violating of public order due to drunkenness, the abuse of official position for selfish purposes and by Philistine attitudes.

Effective measures are not always taken to increase the prestige of maternity, to create favorable conditions for mothers with many children or to popularize the experience of parents who raise their children well. In the town and rayon a system has still not yet been organized for preparing young people for family life. The new Soviet rites and traditions are little employed for strengthening the family and for its atheistic indoctrination.

The party gorkom, the gorispolkom and rayispolkom as well as the leaders of the enterprises and farms have not paid sufficient attention to solving social and domestic questions and particularly to the problems of young families. The plan quotas have not been fulfilled for certain types of domestic services. The public dining and trade network in the rayon needs further developing. On many farms in the rayons and in a number of schools there are no dining rooms. The opportunities of the children's preschool institutions are not being fully utilized for the social upbringing of children. Here the percentage of children in preschool institutions is below the republic level. The physical plant of the cultural and educational institutions is weak.

The LiCP Central Committee drew the attention of the LiCP Kapsukas gorkom, the gorispolkom, the rayispolkom, the primary party, trade union and Komsomol organizations to the shortcomings and proposed that specific measures be worked out and implemented to strengthen the family, to raise its political indoctrinational role and the personal responsibility of the parents in the political, civil and moral development of their children and to conduct more constant and consistent work in implementing the party's social program as outlined by the 26th CPSU Congress and by the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers "On Measures to Strengthen State Aid to Families Having Children" in creating favorable conditions for family life and for ensuring a

rational combination of social and family upbringing for the coming generation.

The LiCP Central Committee considers it wrong when individual party organizations show an unprincipled attitude toward persons who are guilty of an irresponsible attitude toward the family, toward the upbringing of their children and to instances of divorce without valid reason.

The party committees, the primary party and Komsomol organizations must deal more strictly with leading workers, communists and Komsomol members who permit instances of amoral conduct and a flippant attitude toward marriage and toward parental obligations. It has been recommended that more individual work be done with parents, particularly with unhappy families.

The party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations should more widely propagandize and explain the moral values of the socialist way of life, the principles of the moral code of a builder of communism, they should actively form public opinion which would help to strengthen the family, increase its role and responsibility in the indoctrination of the individual, a correct attitude toward labor, to instill reasonable material needs and spiritual interests and to conduct an active struggle against negative phenomena and violations of socialist morality in the sphere of family relations.

The responsibility of the civil registries and people's courts should be increased in the area of strengthening the family and in individual work with persons who have taken a decision to dissolve a marriage. Unhappy families are to be promptly disclosed and a differentiated influence as well as the necessary social, pedagogical and consultative aid given them.

The role of labor collectives should be increased in every possible way in the area of moral family indoctrination. There should be a wider practice of holding meetings of pedagogues and the mentors of young workers with parents, family holidays, sports matches, the celebrating of labor dynasties, the inviting of children to participate in the volunteer Saturday work-days and to become acquainted with the production processes, to meetings with labor veterans, to participate in mass cultural measures conducted at the work place of the parents. Every possible support should be shown and an atmosphere of respect created for families which raise their children in an exemplary manner.

The Kapsukas LiCP gorkom, the gorispolkom and rayispolkom should take additional measures to further solve social and domestic problems, to develop the network of trade, public dining and domestic service enterprises, to improve their work and to introduce progressive forms for serving the public.

It is essential to strengthen the public health facilities, to improve the operation of the women's consulting offices, the feldsher-obstetric points, the maternity homes and children's polyclinics and to develop the network of therapeutic institutions for family recreation. The network of children's creches and nurseries must be further broadened and the operation of the Pioneer camps, the children's and sports clubs at the places of residence must be improved. The facilities of the cultural and educational institutions must be strengthened.

The Kapsukas LiCP gorkom, the gorispolkom and rayispolkom, the gorkom of the Latvian Komsomol, the primary party, Komsomol and public organizations must carefully think through a range of measures related to preparing the youth for future family life, they must develop in the young persons a responsible attitude toward marriage and the raising of children, they must more widely propagandize the ideals of paternity and maternity and draw particular attention to the strengthening of the ideological and moral indoctrination of youth in the worker dormitories.

It is essential to actively propagandize and introduce into everyday life the progressive family traditions, the new Soviet rites and customs involving engagement, marriage, the birth of a child and the jubilee dates of family members. More attention must be given to organizing and maintaining the cultural recreation of a family, to family holidays, evenings, to the honoring of mothers with many children, to the seeing off of young men into the Soviet Army and to new national construction projects, as well as to family recreation, to the conducting of excursions and sports competitions. The work of the youth clubs and various interest sections must be developed and evening meetings contributing to the creation of the family must be held in the clubs and houses of culture.

The LiCP Central Committee has instructed the Lithuanian Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education, the Ministry of Public Health and the State Committee for Vocational-Technical Education to work out jointly with the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, a training and indoctrination-al program for preparing youth for future family life. It is recommended that the teaching of a course on "Ethics and Psychology of Family Life" be included as an elective course of the republic VUZes, the secondary schools and specialized secondary schools and vocational-technical schools. It has also been proposed that the question be viewed of strengthening the scientific subdivisions concerned with investigating family problems, having paid attention here to studying the reasons for family conflicts and divorces and the ways for reducing these.

The party and social organizations and the Znaniye [Knowledge] Society must improve the propaganzing of the Soviet way of life and pedagogical knowledge, the organizing of a differentiated pedagogical instruction of parents. They must develop the network and increase the effectiveness of work done by the people's universities for pedagogics and family-domestic culture and in the labor collectives organize series of lectures and speeches by scientists on modern sociopsychological problems of the Soviet family.

The Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education and the Lithuanian Ministry of Culture should review and settle the question of including the subject "Socialist Rites and Customs" in the curriculum of the Klaypeda faculties of the Lithuanian State Conservatory, the cultural schools and the Institute for the Advanced Training of Cultural Workers.

The Lithuanian Ministry of Public Health must take measures to further improve and develop the offices for the psychohygiene of family relations.

The editorial boards of the republic and local newspapers, the magazines and the State Committee to Television and Radio should systematically publish materials and selections, introduce special columns and sections on the socialist way of life and the moral foundations of a family, they should assist in forming cultivated relationships between the members of a family and disclose examples worthy of imitation.

The State Committee for Publishing and the Lithuanian Ministry of Education should make more effective use of the publication SHEYMA for propagandizing the best experience of family upbringing, for more thoroughly treating the questions of ethics in daily family relations and the preparing of youth for marriage and the raising of children.

The Lithuanian Ministry of Culture, the Lithuanian State Committee for Cinematography and the creative unions must broaden in artistic works the treatment of problems in the family as the basis of our society and must help in developing high spiritual needs of the population and the rational utilization of free time for raising the cultural level and all-round development of the individual.

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CSO: 1806/23

CERTAIN ASPECTS IN ACCELERATING SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press
19 Apr 83) pp 58-63

[Article by Teymuraz Mamedovich Dzhafarli, Shota Levanovich Kistauri, Boris Pavlovich Kurashvili and Vitaliy Petrovich Rassokhin. T. M. Dzhafarli is a doctor of philosophical sciences, professor and deputy leader of the Center for the Study, Forecasting and Forming of Public Opinion under the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party [GCP] and a specialist on the sociology of ideological processes. Our journal has published his articles: "The Study of Public Opinion--A Necessary Condition for Taking Correct Decisions" (No 1, 1978); "Raising Labor and Sociopolitical Activeness of the Engineer and Technical Intelligentsia" (No 4, 1979, as co-author). Sh. L. Kistauri is a candidate of economic sciences and the head of the Laboratory for Socioeconomic Problems at the Center for the Study, Forecasting and Forming of Public Opinion under the GCP Central Committee and works in the area of the problems of production organization. B. P. Kurashvili is a candidate of legal sciences and sector head at the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences and a specialist on the questions of state administration. V. P. Rassokhin is a candidate of legal sciences, a senior science associate at the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and a specialist on the legal problems of scientific and technical progress. Sh. L. Kistauri, B. P. Kurashvili and V. P. Rassokhin are appearing in print for the first time in our journal.]

[Text] In his speech at the November (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Yu. V. Andropov, emphasized: "We possess great reserves in the national economy.... These reserves must be sought out in accelerating scientific and technical progress and in the broad and rapid introduction of scientific and technical achievements and advanced experience into production. This question certainly is not a new one. It has been raised repeatedly at the party congresses and Central Committee plenums. Nevertheless, things are moving slowly." The plenum decree raised the demand of "steadily introducing scientific and technical achievements and advanced experience into production.

In May 1982, a plenum of the GCP Central Committee was held and this discussed the question of further improving the management of scientific development and the introduction of its achievements into practice. In accord with the plenum decision, a Republic Coordinating Council was set up on science and scientific-technical progress headed by the First Secretary of the GCP Central Committee, E. A. Shevardnadze. The council membership included leading workers of the GCP Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, the gosplan, the state committee for science and technology [GKNT], the republic Academy of Sciences, leading scientists and specialists from the institutions of higher learning and the sectorial scientific research institutes as well as production leaders. The published article offers certain results of the empirical research undertaken by Georgian sociologists in preparation for the plenum.

The basic aim of the research was to ascertain the opinion of experts, in the first place, on the present state of organizing scientific research and the systems for employing its results in practice and, secondly, on the advisability of the measures proposed in the special literature and mass press on improving the management of scientific and technical progress.¹ Let us examine the most urgent problems according to the data of the commission of experts.

What are the bottlenecks in the "science-production" cycle? Some 45 percent of the persons questioned feel that the greatest difficulties arise in the stage of developing new equipment and production methods and in the series production of new products; 41.6 percent in the stage of experimental production; 39.5 percent in the stage of converting to mass production; 27 percent in the stage of applied research; 25.5 percent during the stage of designing; 14.5 percent in the stage of fundamental research.²

¹ The research was conducted by the Center for the Study, Forecasting and Forming of Public Opinion under the GCP Central Committee together with the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences. In accord with the research program, two expert questionings were carried out. The first was in March 1982; basically leading scientific workers were questioned (63 percent) as well as responsible workers from the party bodies, the state apparatus and major enterprises. In May of last year, immediately prior to the start of the plenum, a shortened version of the first questionnaire was sent out to the participants of the session (185 persons were covered). In the last instance a majority of the respondents (51 percent) were workers from the party bodies, the state apparatus and enterprise leaders while scientific workers prevailed among the remainder. The article generalizes the results of predominantly the second polling.

The research method had one particular feature. In the confidential questions each of the variations contained one or another constructive proposal. In the questionnaire it was briefly characterized and the advisability of implementation established.

² Here and below the total exceeds 100 percent since the respondent could mark several answers.

Although the respondents did not have an unanimous opinion, as we can see, particular concern was caused by the "introductory" stages of the cycle. In actuality, a shortening of the time for the actual introduction of research results is an urgent task. The Accountability Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Party Congress pointed out: "To clearly formulate the practical tasks which require a maximum of attention from scientists is a concern primarily of the central planning and economic bodies and the GNKT. At the same time, science itself should be a constant 'gadfly,' showing in what areas there has been stagnation and falling behind and where the modern level of knowledge provides opportunities to move ahead more rapidly and successfully. Thought must be given on how to turn this work into an inseparable part of the management mechanism" [1]. The solving of the given problem requires a certain reorganization in the relationships of the scientific institutions (academy, VUZ and sectorial) with the state administrative bodies. The main direction for such changes is to broaden the independence of the research centers, particularly the sectorial scientific research institutes. It is no secret that frequently the ministry leaders view them merely as an "object of control" the initiative of which can be brushed aside and at times resort also to such measures as unjustified reorganization, staff cutbacks and so forth. At the same time, the departmental institutes should play the most active role in shaping and implementing the sector's scientific and technical policy. Of course, all of this requires the granting of the appropriate rights and guarantees to the research institutions, and as of yet, unfortunately, they still do not possess these.

As for the specific measures, approximately 40 percent of the respondents considered it necessary to change the existing practices of managing the scientific institutions. In particular, 18.5 percent of those questions were in favor of granting the sectorial institutes rather broad independence in planning research development and in organizational and financial questions; 60.5 percent proposed strengthening author supervision over the introduction of scientific and technical innovations; 37.5 percent wanted the USSR Academy of Sciences to have the right to hand down a final expert evaluation of scientific and technical decisions; 45.6 percent wanted an analogous right for the Union republic academies of sciences (for decisions and plans of local significance); 48.5 percent voiced the opinion that the powers of the USSR GKNT and the Union republic GKNT should be broadened. Only one measure was not broadly supported and this was to weaken the direct dependence of the scientific institution's leader upon his department (only 20 percent of those questioned were in favor of this).

Around one-half of those questioned were in favor of freeing the scientific institutions of functions not inherent to them. There is justification for this. How much time and energy the co-workers of scientific research institutes must spend on compiling lists and reports and on the vast amount of paper work. As is known, such practices are used for the "covert" growth of the management personnel and at the same time create a pretext for an exaggerated idea of scientific potential. The differentiation in respondent opinions is interesting. One out of every three members of the plenum approved the proposal and one out of every two among those invited to the plenum. The scientific workers showed the greatest interest in realizing the given measure (75 percent). Some 33 percent of the party workers and 40 percent of the workers in the state apparatus were in favor of it.

Certain experts did not support any of the discussed decisions and did not propose any other positive measures. Obviously those questioned who make up the given group feel that the idea of science as a "gadfly" had already formed the corresponding practical set of views among the scientists and administrative workers. For this reason no additional organizational measures were needed but a majority of experts noted an average of three or four measures. Thus, the respondents were in favor, in our opinion, of the need to qualitatively strengthen the role of science in management, to organizationally reinforce the corresponding changes and to turn the activities of the scientists into a permanently operating factor for accelerating scientific and technical progress. We feel that this is precisely how the implementation of the congress demands should be approached.

The improving of the economic mechanism is a most important factor in accelerating the introduction of scientific achievements into production. The questionnaire proposed the following measures for this. 1. To tighten the discipline of introducing new products and processes, and to equate the failure or trouble in introducing scientific and technical innovations as unacceptable instances of mismanagement and the negligent fulfillment of official duties by those responsible. 2. To raise the role of the planning indicator for the introduction of new technology, having put it in the same rank as the indicators of the sales volume or the amount of normed net product. 3. To introduce the category of "obsolete production." This has been established by a decision of the USSR GKNT and Gosstandart [State Committee for Standards] for equipment or production methods which do not meet modern requirements (the conversion is to be carried out over a certain period of time and at the end of this the given production, if it has not been modernized, is stopped and the leaders are held responsible under administrative procedures). 4. To strengthen the economic incentives for developing new equipment and for this the role of material-technical supply, financing, moral and material incentives must be sharply increased. 5. To convert the enterprises and production associations to full cost accounting and give them the right to independently dispose of the remaining funds after paying the state taxes and payments. In this manner the importance of these funds will be strengthened in using the research and development results. 6. To carry out a range of measures aimed at having the output and delivery of products be determined primarily by consumer demand.

All the listed measures were supported by the respondents. Some 58.5 percent of those questioned were in favor of strengthening economic incentives for the development of new technology; 49.5 percent in favor of tightening the discipline of introducing new products and procedures; the same number of respondents considered it necessary to increase the role of the consumer; 39.5 percent were in favor of raising the role of the plan indicator for introducing new technology; a similar number of those questioned supported the proposal to convert the enterprises to full cost accounting; 28 percent were in favor of introducing the "obsolete production" procedures.

In our opinion, the mentioned proposals are mutually complementary. But in an implicit form, the list of them contains a certain alternative. The experts who marked points in the first part of the list are obviously inclined to seek a solution predominantly in administrative measures while those who approved the

second part look to economic ones. Incidentally, a majority of the respondents was in favor of strengthening the various forms of economic incentives. The realization of this proposal is inconceivable without combining administrative and economic management methods. Such measures could be, for example, the creating of reserve production capacity and thereby reducing the plan quotas during the period of developing scientific and technical innovations, priority material and technical supply, subsidies, reducing the amount of tax payments, preferential credit terms and so forth. Thus, a broad, comprehensive approach to the problem received the most active support.

How to overcome departmental barriers on the path to realizing the achievements of scientific and technical progress? Among the respondents this question evoked increased interest and this shows its particular acuteness. Departmental barriers are an obstacle not only for the accelerating of scientific and technical progress. They restrain the deepening of production cooperation, the setting up of multispecialty enterprises and associations, the technical reequipping of production in one sector on the basis of results obtained in another and the ensuring of the territorial integration of production.

In the course of questioning experts, three alternatives were proposed. 1. A stabilization program: within the existing departmental-sectorial system, to develop departmental coordination and contractual ties between the enterprises and scientific institutions ("improve everything without changing anything"). 2. A program of "moderate" reorganization, that is, to significantly consolidate the sectorial departments, having created just seven or eight ministries (for example, machine building, power, construction, agriculture and the food industry, transportation and so forth). 3. A program of "radical" reorganization, that is, concentrating the management of material production (with the exception of transportation and possibly the fuel and energy complex) in the hands of a single Union-level national economic ministry with analogous republic national economic ministries and administrations on the spot. In the description of the last two programs, it was emphasized that their implementation would require a significant broadening of enterprise and association independence. This should sharply reduce the share of centralized day-to-day management from the ministries. (Of course, it is not a question of forming one ministry in the place of scores or a half-hundred of them, having provided in its structure for several main administrations which as before would run "their own" enterprises.)

The experts participating in the plenum assessed the variations in the following manner: 36 percent preferred the stabilization program, 28 percent the program of moderate reorganization, 16.5 percent the program of radical reorganization, while 19.5 did not prefer any of the alternatives. In March, the questioning gave the following results: 30.5, 16.5 and 19.5 and 33.5 percent. For us the results were to a certain degree unexpected. Since the programs were not widely discussed in the scientific literature and periodic press, we felt that the second and particularly the third variation would be supported by not more than 10 percent of those questioned.

Let us examine the distribution of replies by groups. Some 44 percent of the invited plenum participants were in favor of a more or less radical change in the system of sectorial national economic management. The plenum members and

the workers of the state system were somewhat more restrained in their support for such a reorganization. As a whole, around one-half of all the experts feels that the overcoming of the departmental barriers and increased effectiveness of national economic management and particularly the management of scientific and technical progress, should be carried out by a substantial reorganization in the existing management system. Thus, one of the plenum members, a party worker, wrote in the questionnaire: "At the present stage of national economic development and scientific-technical progress, a program for consolidating the sectorial departments would be more advisable. However, we consider a maximum concentration of national economic management (the future obviously belongs to such a program) as a more effective method."

The stabilization program also received the approval of the experts. This is explainable not only by an adherence to traditional management methods. During the preparatory period for the plenum, great work was done to disclose reserves for improving the existing management system and to seek out specific ways for utilizing them. Over a period of several months, the question was discussed on the pages of the republic press and this, of course, could not help but influence the judgment of the experts.

The idea of the need to overcome departmental isolation was also taken up in the report of the First Secretary of the GCP Central Committee, E. A. Shevardnadze.³ He, in particular, emphasized that one of the promising areas for integrating science and production could and should be the broad spread of contractual (partnership) ties between the various organizations (enterprises, associations, scientific research institutes, design bureaus, republic ministries and so forth), where the latter would solve one or another specific problem in the area of scientific and technical progress. Partnership relations are an effective form for organizing mutually advantageous and enterprising cooperation between departments. As experience shows, such ties make it possible to surmount many difficulties related to departmental barriers. Incidentally, for many experts the designated circumstance became an argument in favor of not reorganizing the current sectorial management system but rather constantly improving it.

Nevertheless, the research results quite clearly indicate that "reformist" orientations are beginning to prevail over "stabilization" ones.

However, the designated fact must not be assessed too categorically. The research data are rather contradictory. Thus, to the question "is it possible to achieve significant advances in accelerating scientific and technical progress within the republic without a structural reorganization of the management system?", 21.5 percent of the plenum participants replied: "Yes, it is completely possible"; 27 said "basically possible," 24 said "basically impossible," and 15.5 percent said "no, nothing really essential can be expected." Some 16 percent of the respondents did not reply. As we see, the "optimists" comprise almost one-half (48.5 percent) while "pessimists" are around one-third (35.5 percent). Close results were also obtained in the questioning in March (46.5 percent).

³ The report was sent out to the participants before the start of the plenum.

and 38 percent). The distribution of replies from the plenum members and the invited guests corresponds to the general distribution. Of all the groups of experts, the economic managers were the most optimistically inclined.

The supporters of a radical reorganization in the management system (the "reformers") were divided almost in halves: a slightly smaller portion of the respondents viewed the prospects optimistically and a larger portion with restraint. Consequently, many "reformers" do not reject the idea that the existing management system is capable of being developed and successfully solving practical problems. And at the same time, among the supporters of the system there are also "pessimists" (the share of the latter, in truth, is small). These respondents obviously feel that for achieving substantial results one must not restrict oneself to measures on the republic level but rather statewide programs are needed. However, a different opinion prevailed at the plenum. It, we feel, was expressed in the questionnaire by one of the workers from the state apparatus: "The measures outlined by the plenum undoubtedly will mark a start to a new stage in the development of science and practice in the republic."

The conducted research makes it possible to draw the following conclusions.

1. On the examined questions, the opinions of the party workers, the co-workers from the state apparatus, the production leaders and the scientific workers differed insignificantly. Consequently, among the scientists and managerial representatives there is a unity of views on the fundamental problems of developing scientific and technical progress.
2. At present, in the minds of both the scientists and practical workers the idea is gradually taking root that management problems cannot be effectively solved without the maximum development of initiative and the broadening of independence for the production organizations and scientific institutions with the simultaneous maintaining and strengthening of the state's strategic role.
3. A realization that the management system needs reorganization does not eliminate the activities of the specialists in solving current urgent problems related to accelerating scientific and technical progress.

REFERENCE

1. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS," p 43.

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10272

CSO: 1806/23

EXPERT EVALUATION OF HYPOTHESES IN STUDYING DEVELOPMENT PROSPECTS OF THE WAY OF LIFE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press 19 Apr 83) pp 64-74

[Article by Leonid Abramovich Gordon and Eleonora Semenova Chertikhina. The authors are co-workers at the Institute for the International Workers Movement (IMRD) of the USSR Academy of Sciences. L. A. Gordon is a doctor of historical sciences and head of the Social Statistics Laboratory. A specialist on the problems of the working class, the way of life and free time. An author of a number of monographs including: "Chelovek posle raboty" [Man After Work] (1972, co-authored with E. V. Klopov), "Pyatidnevaya rabochaya nedelya i svobodnoye vremya trudyashchikhsya" [The Five-Day Work Week and the Free Time of Workers] (1972, co-authored with N. M. Rimashevskaya), "Tipologiya nesotsialisticheskikh stran" [Typology of Nonsocialist Nations] (1976), "Cherty sotsialisticheskogo obrazza zhizni: byt gorodskikh rabochikh vchera, segodnya, zavtra" [Traits of the Socialist Way of Life: The Everyday Life of Urban Workers Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow] (1977, co-authored with E. V. Klopov and L. O. Onikov) and others. In our journal he has published as a co-author with E. V. Klopov the article "The Rational Time Budget: An Approach to the Problem and the Experience of the Initial Calculating" (No 1, 1977) and the review "The General in the Particular: Sociological Essays on Estonia" (No 4, 1980). E. S. Chertikhina is a candidate of economic sciences and senior science associate. A specialist on the problems of the prosperity and nonproduction sphere in the way of life of Soviet workers. The author of the monographs "Potrebleniye i platezhnesposobnyy spros naseleniya SSSR" [Consumption and Solvent Demand of the Soviet Population] (1979) and "Trud i byt sovetskikh zhenshchin" [Labor and Everyday Life of Soviet Women] (1982, co-authored with Ye. B. Gruzdeva). This is her first article in our journal.]

[Text] In recent years, sociologists have shown an increased interest in various forms of expert evaluation. This is not surprising as this provides the researcher with an opportunity to supplement his own analytical conclusions by judgments based on general knowledge and experience of one or another specialist, his intuition, creative imagination, capacity for drawing analogies and so forth.

The methods of expert evaluations are a well-elaborated and practically tested system of procedures and forms for disclosing, testing and generalizing specialist opinions on the most diverse questions of modern scientific knowledge.¹

¹ The problem of employing expert evaluations in sociological research has been examined in the works of G. S. Batygin, I. V. Bestuzhev-Lada, V. V. Cherednichenko and others [6-8].

Nevertheless, each new subject area where expert evaluations are beginning to be widely employed requires a definite modification of these methods and at times the elaboration of specific types of expert evaluation.

We feel that the development of the way of life is among the social processes the study of which, along with the known methods of expert evaluations, should also utilize specific, special forms of them. The need for special expert procedures is particularly felt when it is a question of analyzing the development prospects of the way of life and its forecasting.

Understandably, the future development of human activity cannot be foreseen in all its details. Forecasting the way of life is similar to the forecasting of sociopolitical and economic situations. The latter gains a scientific content only in the instance that it is viewed, in the expression of V. I. Lenin, as "a question of prospects, understanding by this, of course, not empty guesses which no one can know but rather the basic trends of economic and political development, those trends the result of which determines the immediate future of the nation..." [1].

But since rather complex ideas are subjected to expert evaluation it is essential--and this is an essential prerequisite for the success of the entire procedure--that they be adequately formulated. Here it is scarcely possible or necessary to endeavor (as many other forms of expert evaluation require) to achieve a maximum precision of the formulations. It is more useful to provide albeit brief but still rather complete statements of alternative concepts, sorts of theses which formulate the development hypotheses for individual aspects and elements of the way of life, which give the factors and conditions explaining the possible direction of such development, its prerequisites, consequences and so forth. In the given instance, sets of various hypotheses operate as the direct object of the expert judgments and the entire procedure can be called an expert evaluation of hypotheses.

The practical possibilities of such a method have been tested out in the Social Statistics Laboratory of the IMRD of the USSR Academy of Sciences in the example of an expert evaluation for a series of alternative ideas concerning the development prospects of the nonproduction (domestic) sphere of the way of life. Sociologists, philosophers, economists, historians, art historians and architects professionally involved in problems related to the development of everyday life, culture and free time participated as experts.² Correspondingly

² As a total 110 specialists were involved in the expert evaluation, including 15 doctors of science and 75 candidates of science. A majority of the experts was co-workers from institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences, including: the Institute of Sociological Research, the Economics Institute and the Philosophy Institute. Many experts also worked in the sectorial and departmental institutes such as the Scientific Research Economics Institute under the USSR Gosplan, the Scientific Research Institute for Labor, the All-Union Scientific Institute for Studying the Public's Demand for Consumer Goods and Trade Conditions of the USSR Ministry of Trade, the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Art History, the Scientific Research Institute for Culture and others. In order to reduce subjectivism in selecting the experts, everywhere possible a scientific subdivision (sector, section or group) was considered a selection unit and all scientific co-workers in it were questioned.

a separate group of experts competent on the given problem was organized for assessing each set of hypotheses. (In truth, individual experts could have been included in several groups.) Here we endeavored to observe two conditions: in the first place, to ensure a sufficient number of experts in all groups (usually at least 50); secondly, to include in each group both workers for whom the studied problems are the basic subject of their professional activities as well as specialists who study more general questions. For example, the expert evaluation of the development prospects of television involved, on the one hand, specialists in the sociology of mass information media and, on the other, people working in the problems of culture, free time and the way of life as a whole.

As for the selection of the problems of everyday life and free time to be subjected to expert evaluation, the authors, inconsidering the procedural goals of the current work, endeavored to isolate those questions which would make it possible to test the possibility of an expert evaluation of the hypotheses in terms of solving various types of problems arising in the forecasting of the way of life. These types of problems were related, in the first place, to the concretizing of the social ideal, that is, the characteristics of a socially desirable state of daily life and which the socialist society is endeavoring to attain in the foreseeable future; secondly, with the elucidation of the actual trends in the change of nonproduction activities in the foreseeable future; thirdly, to the analysis of the directions and forms for improving sociodemestic and cultural services as this is one of the basic factors in controlling the development of daily life and for bringing the actual trends closer to the socially desirable ones.³

An examination of the results could commence with the experts' assessment of various notions of the ideal, socially desirable state of this sphere of life. Such notions, in a certain sense, are the starting point for forecasting the way of life. The concretization of the socialist ideal contained in these comprises the basis for forming the goals of social policy and social planning within one or another period as well as for elaborating the standards and criteria a comparison with which makes it possible to judge society's advance toward the accepted goals. An expert assessment of the various notions of the ideal organization of the way of life is also important because it, in addition

³ The differentiating of these tasks is all the more essential as it is not always considered even in special work. Thus, V. D. Patrushev accuses us of the improper including of the indicators of a 35-hour work week in the rational (that is, ideal) time budget on the grounds that such a reduction, in his opinion, will not be achieved over the next 10-20 years [9, p 33]. Without going into a discussion here of the probability of shortening working time up to the end of the 20th Century, we would point out that the mechanical identifying of the ideal and the possibilities of real development over an historically limited time (10-20 years) undercuts the very idea of comparing actual achievements with the socially desirable norm. Such a comparison is based precisely on the fact that the organization of everyday life achievable in a certain interval of time is correlated to the ideal of a more extended period.

to a generalization of the knowledge, experience and intuition on the action of objective factors, also reflects the state of public opinion on this question. Here the experts are partially acting as the expressors of it.

Among the problems the elaboration of which provides an effective area for expert evaluations, the central place is held by the questions of the socializing of housework and the involving of women in social production.

Even the great Utopians and later the founders of scientific socialism showed that without a transformation of the traditional way of life it would be impossible to have either the true equality of men and women, the harmonious development of the individual or the establishing of a new, communist morality [2]. The socialization of everyday life involves the central processes in the development of the way of life precisely because it touches upon a multiplicity of delicate and complex social mechanisms and the specific forms of realizing this principle require careful reflection, reasoning and analysis. As the experience of the initial stages of socialist construction show, simplified notions which ignore the permanent development trends of social phenomena convert the socialization of everyday life into a senseless, inhumane Utopia where the attempts to realize this create acute and hard-to-eliminate social clashes.

Correspondingly, the elaboration of an ideal of everyday life suitable for serving as a basis for defining the goals of practical policy cannot be restricted to proclaiming the principles for the socializing of everyday life and the universality of labor. It is essential to clarify in what specific forms such socialization will be expressed and how it will be coordinated with the other processes of social development and the other aspects of the social ideal.

In the given context, two series of theses were proposed for the judgment of specialists acting in the role of experts. These briefly formulated the various hypotheses on the socially desirable state of everyday life. The first series of theses characterized the alternative estimates for the role of housework and the ensuing notions of its organization. The second series of theses concerned the relationship of the labor and family-domestic roles of women and the possible forms of reconciling these roles. The experts were instructed to indicate the theses corresponding to their notion of the socially desirable organization. The obtained information was distributed in the following manner (see Tables 1, 2).

Certainly, from this (and generally from any expert evaluations), one must not draw an unconditional conclusion on the preference or validity of the various forms of organizing the way of life. But the opinion of a majority of specialists under all conditions should be taken into attention.

In particular, one can scarcely overlook the absolute unanimity with which the expert specialists reject the simplest direct approaches to socializing everyday life and involving women in social production. Virtually all of them, 98.5 percent, consider as wrong the ideas according to which the social ideal would be the complete elimination of housework by social services (see Thesis 1 in Table 1) or a completely equal degree of participation of men and women in the national economy (see Thesis 1 in Table 2). At the same time, a predominant majority of the experts--around 90 percent--reject the opinion on the

Table 1

**Evaluation by Experts of Various Ideas of Social Significance
of Housework and Its Desirable Social Organization**

Theses reflecting idea about importance and organization of housework	No. of experts in whose opinion given thesis meets desirable organization of daily life	
	Persons	%
1. Housework basically has negative effect on person, since it reduces free time and impedes spiritual development of individual, his moral and physical improvement. Hence, housework should to a maximum degree be socialized; virtually all daily needs of a family should be met by various enterprises serving public: children's institutions, dining rooms, cafes, special organizations to clean houses, laundries, dry cleaning enterprises and so forth.	1	1.5
2. Although housework actually limits free time and distracts people from more elevated and meaningful undertakings, it nevertheless plays a certain positive role in the life of each family; in providing the diverse types of family consumption, housework thereby helps to strengthen family relations and develop a good microclimate characteristic for a strong and close family. Hence it is desirable to socialize a large portion of housework, having turned it over to the service sphere, leaving in the family only those forms without which family consumption is impossible (preparing semifinished food products, frozen products and so forth under home conditions; immediate caring for children and so forth).	19	28.8
3. Housework basically has positive effect on indoctrination of person and development of his personality; it contains definite creative elements and is an important factor in the labor indoctrination of children and in improving family relations. It helps to satisfy individual needs and tastes. Only excessive amounts of housework and its uneven, unjust distribution between family members are of a negative nature. For this reason, it is essential to socialize by turning over to the service sphere only a few, heaviest and unattractive types of housework for a majority of people, having distributed the remaining part of work at home evenly between the able-bodied family members and having provided the household with highly effective household machines and mechanisms.	7	10.6

[continued on following page]

[Table 1 continued from preceding page]

Theses reflecting idea about importance and organization of housework	No. of experts in whose opinion given thesis meets desirable organization of daily life	
	Persons	%
4. The diversity of living conditions among various families is so great that over the entire foreseeable future there will be large groups of people in the lives of whom housework plays a varying role: both groups of people endeavoring to escape from housework as much as possible and persons who consider it a creative undertaking and an essential condition for the labor indoctrination of children and for strengthening the family, in addition to persons desiring to preserve only certain forms of it. For this reason, a condition for the socially desirable way of life is a development of the service sphere which ensures the possibility of the full socialization of everyday life for one group of the population, the partial turning over of housework for another and the mechanizing of housework for the third.	38	57.6
5. Different opinion	1	1.5
Total experts questioned	66	100.0

desirability of "returning" women to the family and maintaining the traditional forms of housework, even those lightened by the use of modern appliances (see Thesis 3 in Table 1 and Thesis 4 in Table 2).

Even more impressive is the distribution of positive opinions by specialists and the support for those ideas which in the eyes of the experts meet the ideal of the way of life. In recent years, a majority of sociologists, economists, philosophers and public affairs writers, in speaking about the desirable organization of everyday life, have examined various forms of combining social services and the mechanization of housework and as for combining labor and family-domestic roles for women, emphasize the need to facilitate this combination by various benefits on the job, by longer leaves and so forth. Naturally in this context the documents of the 24th, 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses have particularly pointed to the need to improve working and domestic conditions for working women [3-5].

In a mature socialist society, the broadened opportunities for combining production-professional and family-domestic roles for working women is an important area in party and state social policy. However, in virtually all scientific works, that situation to which society should strive in its development

Table 2

Estimate by Experts of Different Ideas on Desirable Forms
of Women's Participation in Social Production

Theses reflecting ideas on desirable forms of women's participation in labor	No. of experts in whose opinion given thesis meets desirable forms of women's participation in labor	
	Persons	%
1. All or virtually all healthy women should work in social production over their entire working-age life (with the exception of interruptions related to the birth of children); the length of the working day and vacation for men and women should be the same, for only under this condition can one ensure the equality of professional growth for men and women without which it is impossible to have the flourishing of all aspects of the women's personality, including those related to raising of children.	1	1.9
2. All or virtually all healthy women should work in social production during all their working-age life (with the exception of interruptions related to the birth of children), but they should have a shorter working day and a longer annual leave, although here it is somewhat more difficult to achieve professional equality; additional free time improves the leisure of women and allows them more attention for family and children.	7	13.5
3. With the birth of children, women should have the right to years-long breaks in work so that the total length of women's labor activity should be noticeably shorter than in men; although the professional level of women in this instance will be somewhat lower than in men, such breaks will help to improve the upbringing of the younger generation and to develop those aspects of the women's personality which are related to maternity.	5	9.6
4. It is desirable that women having minor children in a majority of instances need not work but devote themselves chiefly to the family and children, thereby ensuring a high level of upbringing for the younger generation and the growth of the birthrate; it must be considered that in raising children, women are engaged in socially useful labor which is of enormous significance both for society as a whole and for the development of each woman's personality.	1	1.9

[continued on following page]

[Table 2 continued from preceding page]

Theses reflecting ideas on desirable forms of women's participation in labor	No. of experts in whose opinion given thesis meets desirable forms of women's participation in labor	
	Persons	%
5. In society conditions should be created whereby various women can select either of the above-listed opportunities depending upon the specific conditions of their life and upon whether they consider it more important for themselves in a given period to have professional growth, the raising of children or a combination of both.	38	73.1
6. Different opinion	--	--
Total experts questioned	52	100.0

is linked with a fundamentally single decision and single approach to organizing everyday life and female labor, the combining of maternity with this and so forth. It is all the more striking that in the course of the expert evaluation, a clear majority of specialists, approximately 60-70 percent, supported the thesis that the ideal of the socialist way of life presupposes not the establishing of a certain best combination of social and domestic principals and labor and family roles for a person, but rather the coexisting of a multiplicity of types for the organization of everyday life. In this instance the ideal for improving everyday life is to create conditions which provide an opportunity for certain groups in the population during one or another period of life to fully satisfy their needs using social services, a second group would combine social services with housework and a third group would employ predominantly its own labor. One portion of the women would be continuously employed like men, a second part would have a more or less protracted interruption in labor activities for raising children while a third would devote its basic attention to the family and children (see Thesis 4 in Table 1 and Thesis 5 in Table 2). The infinite diversity of human interests, preferences and circumstances in life is taken into account with the greatest completeness with such an approach.

The support by experts for notions which have been so little depicted in the literature on the problems of the way of life is a very noteworthy phenomenon. It shows that diversity is perceived by scientific awareness as something which to the highest degree is desirable and meets the fundamental understandings of scientists about the nature of the social ideal. Is it possible that increased diversity is a pattern in the development of everyday life under present-day conditions? If this is the case, then should we not take into

account the great diversity in the practices of social planning to a much greater degree than has been done in the past? The expert evaluation of the hypotheses does not provide an answer to these questions, but it poses them and thereby helps to determine the areas for further scientific search.

The results of the expert evaluation of hypotheses related to solving the second type of problems arising in the forecasting of the way of life, that is, the problems concerning the actual trends in the change in human activity, are less essential in comparison with the results of expert evaluation of the nature of the social ideal. Incidentally, the very potential sphere of employing this method in the given instance is less than in the process of concretizing the indicators for the desirable state of the way of life. In elucidating the movement and nature of the trends for the future development of one or another type of nonproduction human activity, the need for expert evaluations increases with the necessity of taking into account the mutual relationship and influence of various forms of daily conduct. The prospects for the development of television, for example, cannot be established relying solely on an analysis of probable progress in its own equipment and the content of the broadcasts, even considering the change in the interest of various population groups in television, possible changes in the overall style of life and so forth. The mentioned prospects can be determined only under the condition of an obligatory consideration of shifts in the sphere of related undertakings, for example, in reading or attending public spectacles. Since the relationships of the individual undertakings are intertwined in an extremely complex manner, the superposition has arisen that intuition and a general-problem orientation among the experts can be a useful addition to an analytical examination of the question.

For testing this possibility, sets of alternative hypotheses characterizing probable trends of changes in the system of leisure-time activities of the population were presented for evaluation by expert specialists (see Tables 3, 4).

However, it must be recognized that the use of expert evaluation in this relatively narrow sphere does not make it possible to draw such definite conclusions as would be possible in assessing the ideas about a desirable organization of life. The opinions of experts are diametrically different and are approximately evenly distributed (see Tables 3, 4) on the future role of television and reading in the system of daily activities (at present, more time is devoted to television than to books, newspapers, magazines, movies, the theater and museums taken together) [9, 10].

It is curious that many specialists supported views which are virtually not found in the scientific literature (for example, two-fifths of the experts feel that in the future reading time will decline). The diversity in the expert evaluations possibly in the given instance reflects a move toward diversity as a major trend in the development of the Soviet way of life. Here in some persons, naturally, there will be a greater orientation toward television, in a second group toward reading and in a third there will be one or another combination. In such an instance an even distribution of expert opinions is explainable by the fact that specialists are paying attention to different (but in all instances real) trends. But probably the only sound conclusion from the indefinite results of expert evaluation is that these problems require careful study.

Table 3

Estimate by Experts of Different Ideas of Probable Change
in TV Viewing in Foreseeable Future (20-30 Years)

Theses reflecting ideas about nature of changes	No. of experts in whose opinion given thesis reflects most probable future	
	Persons	%
1. In foreseeable future, quality of TV programs will improve and the range of TV will broaden. This circumstance as well as increased cultural level in population and all changes in the socialist way of life will contribute to further increased interest in TV broadcasts. For this reason the time a person will devote to TV will increase.	27	37.0
2. In foreseeable future, along with broader opportunities for television, the quality and accessibility of other forms of participating in cultural values (reading of books, attending theaters, museums, concert halls, traveling in the aim of becoming familiar with historical and cultural monuments and so forth) will be improved. For this reason the time a person will devote to TV will decline.	25	34.2
3. In foreseeable future, as in present-day society, both factors contributing to increased interest in TV broadcasts and factors distracting from them will continue to operate in approximately equal strength. The effect of these factors more or less cancels each other out. For this reason the time which a person will devote to television will remain virtually unchanged.	21	28.8
Total experts questioned	73	100.0

As of the current decade, a generation will come to the fore the tastes and habits of which from earliest childhood were shaped under the influence of the TV screen. In science as yet there is not a clear understanding of the cultural and domestic processes arising in the new situation. At the same time, without such an understanding it would be impossible to envisage the further development of the way of life or an effective influence on it.

Clearer results are provided in an expert evaluation of the hypotheses related to forecasting the forms of services and social policy generally and which bring the real way of life closer to its social ideal. The problems arising here lie on the above-mentioned boundary area of the first and second types of problems and in approaching them it is essential to consider simultaneously

Table 4

Estimate by Experts of Various Notions on Probable Change
in Average Reading Time of Artistic Literature
in Foreseeable Future (20-30 Years)

Theses* reflecting notions about nature of changes	No. of experts in whose opinion given thesis reflects most probable future	
	Persons	%
1. Increased education will above all tell on raising an interest in the reading of artistic literature. At the same time, it is obvious that over the long run free time will increase, book publishing will broaden, the operation of libraries will improve and so forth. For this reason, in the foreseeable future the time a person will devote to reading artistic literature will increase.	16	21.1
2. Increased education will increase a desire not only to read artistic literature but also in other forms of participating in cultural values. For this reason, in the foreseeable future the time which a person will devote to the reading of artistic literature will sooner decline than increase.	31	40.8
3. Increased education will increase more or less evenly the various cultural needs of people. For this reason as a whole, in the foreseeable future the time which a person will devote to reading artistic literature will virtually not change and remain at the present level.	29	38.1
Total experts questioned	76	100.0

*Theses are given in a slightly shortened version.

both the specific ideas on the ideal organization of the way of life and the real trends in the development of everyday activity.

For example, is the regular and direct attending of theatrical performances, concerts, museums and so forth by the entire population an obligatory prerequisite for harmonious personal development and cultural progress? Let us recall that although attendance of theaters and museums is higher in our nation than in a majority of the other nations of the world, Soviet people still are as an average rather rarely in these cultural institutions, with approximately once every two years for theaters and museums. Of course, a definite portion of the population goes to theaters and museums much more frequently, but on the other

hand millions of people do not visit them at all [11, 12]. With an affirmative answer to the posed question, the total number of theaters and museums in the nation could increase by 5-10-fold. Such an increase is absolutely impossible and not only because of economic considerations. The outstanding theaters and museums are a basic cultural value. Universal accessibility to theatrical performances and museum exhibits acquires true sense only when the public is given an opportunity to come into contact with art, for example, at the Bolshoi Theater or the treasures of the Hermitage. At the same time, the several-score leading theaters and museums in the country are unable (and never will be able) to receive many millions of spectators and visitors annually. In this instance, only indirect, specific forms of becoming acquainted with cultural values are possible. But if one proceeds from the view that the theaters and museums do not necessarily have to be a portion of the leisure of the entire population, then the further development of the external forms of theatrical and museum culture is sufficient.

To put it briefly, making a decision on the best forms for the development of theatrical and museum institutions is closely tied to certain preferences and values. As in the case of working out ideas about the ideal organization of life as a whole, the expert judgments here are of significant interest. Proceeding from these considerations, the experts were presented with a range of hypotheses on ways to broaden the accessibility of theaters and museums for evaluation (see Table 5).

The definite nature of the conclusions which can be drawn on the basis of the distribution of the estimates of these hypotheses confirms the fitness of expert evaluation in the given instance. A predominant majority, over 80 percent of the specialists questioned, consider it desirable to develop those systems of theatrical and museum services which more than the others ensure a basic equality in cultural services.

The indirect and controllable forms of access to the halls of the best theaters and museums inevitably entail certain losses. Reproductions can scarcely replace the originals and limiting the attendance to unique theaters and museums naturally will restrict the freedom of access to cultural values. But still a predominant portion of the experts are inclined to decisions which entail such losses (see Theses 2 and 3 in Table 5). The maintaining of the current forms of cultural services will inevitably mean that only a smaller portion of the population will be able to see the outstanding theatrical performances, museum exhibits, historical and cultural monuments. In the eyes of the specialists, the value of the universality and equality of culture is of greater weight than the authenticity and traditions. The uniform preference of a majority of the experts makes it possible to think that the principles of equal and general access to cultural goods can be as essential for an understanding of the development prospects of the Soviet way of life as the principle of the diversity of its organization, the importance of which was mentioned above in the context of the expert evaluations of the general ideals of daily life; naturally, these merit equally careful study.

The results of the expert evaluation of the possible ways for developing theatrical and museum activities are curious from another viewpoint. They indicate that the basic portion of the specialists is aware of the drawbacks of the

Table 5

Estimate by Experts of Ideas About Prospects of Increased Accessibility of Theaters and Museums

Theses reflecting ideas about ways for increasing accessibility of theaters and museums*	No. of experts in whose opinion given thesis describes best solution to problem	
	Persons	%
1. Accessibility of theatrical, concert and museum spectacles can be fully ensured by further development and improving of present forms of theatrical, concert and museum operations.	16	21.9
2. The needs of people for attending theatrical, concert and museum performances will grow more rapidly than the possibilities of further developing the present forms of theatrical, concert and museum work. For this reason, along with the development of the existing forms, much more attention and resources must be concentrated in seeking out new technical approaches which make theatrical performances, concerts, museums and exhibits accessible for each person (special TV channels, theaters, video cassettes, the putting out of copies close to the original and so forth).	29	39.7
3. Along with the development of the network of theaters, museums and concert halls and the expanding of new technical facilities, it is essential to introduce a system of organized forms for attending these so as to provide a majority of those so desiring with an opportunity to at least infrequently attend the best theatrical performances, concerts, museums and exhibits.	27	37.0
4. Other opinion	1	1.4
Total experts questioned	73	100.0

*Theses are given in somewhat abbreviated form.

simple broadening or even improving in the existing forms of cultural services, in insisting on the search for nontraditional ways and technically new research.

Of course, the viewpoint of the scientific workers a portion of whom in addition approaches the designated alternatives predominantly from general theoretical positions, cannot serve as the sole basis for a practical decision on the reorganization in the organizational and technical structure of one or another type of service. Such a decision requires caution and a careful and thorough

consideration of the probable consequences. But the opinion of expert scientists can and should serve as a basis for posing problems and for beginning their discussion and study.

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CSO: 1806/23

THE FAMILY AS A FACTOR IN PERSONNEL STABILIZATION

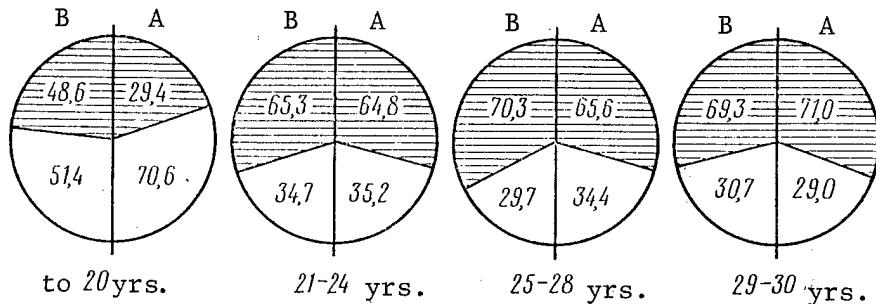
Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press
19 Apr 83) pp 89-96

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[Text] The research conducted on the BAM [Baykal-Amur Mainline] and at Atom-mash [Association for Nuclear Power Equipment] have shown that both the view taken by the workers of various aspects of their labor activity and living conditions as well as the making of decisions to remain at the place of new construction depend primarily upon family status and age. In the opinion of 85.2 percent of the experts, the basic mass of BAM construction workers remaining for permanent residence in this area is comprised precisely of workers with families. Here while for workers with families one observes a direct dependence between the length of employment on the BAM and the decision to remain, in bachelors it is inverse. From this it can be concluded that family status also influences the length of the workers' participation in construction itself.

In turn, according to the opinion of a majority of experts who participated in the research at Atom-mash, most inclined to remain at the place of construction are persons over the age of 30 who have a family and possess comparatively high skills. Personnel retention to a certain degree also depends upon where the marriage took place and where the workers' family was during the period of construction. Thus, those expressing a desire to remain at Atom-mash after completion of the construction project were 88.3 percent of the persons who were married at Volgodonsk and 82.2 percent who were married before coming to the project. Of those who live with their families at Volgodonsk, 88.7 percent intended to remain here as a permanent residence; those who during the period of construction lived away from their family took such a decision in approximately two out of three cases.

On the basis of these data it is possible to judge how economically important is the problem of encouraging marriage and strengthening the family in areas of new industrial construction and what a major role can be played here by an optimum solution to the given problem for achieving the goal set by the party, that is, the most rational use of the nation's natural and labor resources [1].



A majority of the construction workers at the BAM and Atommash are married and have families. On the BAM, 52.7 percent of the young persons have families and 67.8 percent of the older construction workers (over the age of 30); at Atommash the figures, respectively, are 54.2 and 73.7 percent. Among the young men the share of whom on the BAM and Atommash reaches two-thirds of all the workers, the opportunity for marrying and establishing a family during the period of working in construction depends primarily upon the ratio of men and women in the various age groups. A notion of this ratio can be seen from the diagram (the shaded sector is men; on the left are data for the BAM and on the right for Atommash). Thus, for a majority of the age groups at both projects there is a characteristic high demographic disproportion which certainly makes it difficult for many of the unmarried men (women predominate only in the group under the age of 20 at Atommash) to take the decision to establish a family. This disproportion is caused, on the one hand, by the type of labor and particularly by the fact that in construction a male labor force is used significantly more frequently than female; on the other, by the circumstance that women find it more difficult to endure the harsh climate. In particular, on the BAM the share of men completely content with the climatic conditions equalled 74.9 percent and for women 66.9 percent.

However, regardless of the demographic disproportion, the marriage level in both areas is comparatively high. In Volgodonsk, approximately one-quarter of the youths who came there to work got married. Some 40.1 percent of all the young families existing on the BAM were established directly there. And regardless of the difficult living conditions, both the new as well as the previously established families proved to be very stable; for every 100 families among the young construction workers there are 4.2 divorces and among the older ones 6.3 (as a national average these indicators are significantly higher) [2]. In explaining this fact one must take into account primarily the circumstance that (according to national statistics) the highest percentage of divorces occurs in marriages with a relatively short period of joint conjugal life (1-3 years). According to the data of V. A. Sysenko, around one-fifth of all the divorces occurs in families which have been together less than 2 years [3]. Evidently, in the founding of young families under extreme conditions, much

more attention (not only in words but also in deed) is given to the moral reasons for choosing a future spouse and the influence of considerations of gain advantage and so forth on this choice is almost completely excluded. Moreover, extreme conditions not only create certain difficulties in family life but rather unite the family for the sake of overcoming them. Finally, it is essential to bear in mind that the young families which function under these conditions usually provide each other with systematic aid and support while actions of a negative nature, including the selfish intervention of relatives, are virtually absent.

The nature of marriage and family relations in regions of new industrial development is also undoubtedly influenced by the fact that the people going to work in these regions usually undergo a definite and at times very severe weeding out. The circumstances themselves also "select" them leaving the most morally mature.

In speaking about the marriage rate of young persons in regions of new industrial development, it is essential to point out that its level could obviously be significantly higher if a greater conformity could be achieved between the development of production itself and the development of its infrastructure, with a unity of all the basic elements of the latter, for "a good dining room, for instance, cannot replace a public health institution or a club, a house of culture or children's institutions. These elements of the social infrastructure can only exist in a full range" [4]. This conclusion assumes particular timeliness in the context of two facts which were clearly established in both research studies.

1. The relatively large number of construction workers with families both at the BAM and Atommash makes very acute the problem of providing each family with modern housing and children's institutions. The importance of this question can be seen from the fact primarily that the birth rates in the regions of new industrial development reaches its maximum approximately by the time the parents are in their thirties (see Table 1). Let us supplement this table with one other bit of empirical information: according to the results of research at Atommash (virtually repeating the corresponding data for the BAM), 26.8 percent of the families of construction workers of the older generation (30 years and more) have one child, 29.6 percent have two and 16.5 percent have three. Here the largest number in both projects and in both age groups is comprised of preschool age children. While in already developed areas, the comparatively low birthrate and the instances of no children are largely explained by marital instability, in the designated new industrial construction areas the main reasons for the limited birthrate are seen by the respondents in such factors as the insufficiently good housing conditions, the shortage of children's preschool institutions and interruptions in the supply of stores with children's food products. A majority of the construction workers employed on the BAM prior to coming here lived in cities in their own apartment or home (74.3 percent of the young persons and 87.5 percent of the older ones). At Atommash the corresponding indicators were somewhat lower (50.6 and 48.7 percent), however the living conditions at both construction projects were as an average worse than at their previous residences. Moreover, even the housing area which the administration possesses is not always allocated considering maximum easing of the tending of children and their upbringing. In particular,

in far from all instances the interests of the family and maternity (in the surveyed aggregate there was also a definite number of single mothers) are taken into attention both in settling the new residents in the dormitories and in allocating apartments.

Table 1*

Dependents of Number of Children upon Parental Age in Families of Construction Workers at BAM and Atomnash

Number of children in family	Age								Total	
	to 20 yrs		21-24		25-28		29-30		B	A
	B **	A ***	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A
One	6,5	7,8	25,4	22,4	53,8	37,9	74,2	32,5	44,1	30,0
Two	0,9	0,0	7,7	6,5	16,3	18,5	25,3	31,3	13,3	15,3
Three & more	0,0	0,0	0,2	0,5	0,9	1,8	0,5	13,1	0,3	8,0
None	92,6	92,2	66,7	70,6	29,0	41,8	0,0	23,1	42,3	46,7

*The procedural questions of investigating social problems in developing the BAM zone were examined in the article by V. V. Voronov and I. P. Smirnov "Retaining Youth in the BAM Zone" (SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 2, 1982). Using an analogous adapted program, in March 1982 a study was run on the construction collective of Atomnash. Some 280 experts were questioned as well as 1,697 construction workers (a quota sampling). The assembled information was computer processed. The field research at Atomnash was carried out under the leadership of G. G. Sergeyev.

**Here and below data are given for the BAM.

***Data for Atomnash.

A large number of respondents at the BAM and Atomnash was not satisfied with the state of the network of preschool children's institutions and the quality of their work. In truth, these estimates reflected primarily the increasing demands made by people on the quality of domestic services and the increased needs of the workers. However, the research also established an elementary lack of places in the children's nurseries and creches, that is, the presence of a problem which could be solved by few expenditures and comparatively quickly.

2. The lag in the construction of housing, children's, service and cultural institutions also leads to an aggravated question of the rational use of the female labor force. Thus, in the families of construction workers under the age of 30, only 48.0 percent of the wives are employed at the BAM and 54.1 percent in the older families. As the basic reasons for such a situation, the respondents pointed to the absence of suitable work for women (particularly in their specialty) and difficulties in placing children in nurseries and creches. At Atomnash the situation in this area is more satisfactory but there not all the married women desiring to work in the project can obtain an appropriate job. Obviously this is also related to the decision by a portion of the

workers who were married prior to going to the project to leave their families at the former place of residence. Such workers are 10.3 percent of the total number at Atommash and 30.0 percent of the men and 2.4 percent of the women (in the town of Zeya) and 26.4 percent of the men and 1.5 percent of the women (the town of Tynda) on the BAM. At the same time, the intensive development of the infrastructure in the regions of new industrial development would eliminate this collision in the shortest time since, on the one hand, it would lead to satisfying the needs of each family for children's institutions and other consumer services and, on the other, would create many jobs for women, having solved not only the problem of employing the wives of construction workers but also the question of attracting new female personnel to these regions.

The task of creating additional jobs for women and further developing domestic services as a whole has another equally important aspect. The problem is that a significant portion of the construction workers arrived at the project imagining that the material status of their family would improve substantially. At the same time, the difficulties (although even temporary) in providing a paid job for the wives of construction workers inevitably led to a decline in the income of the family group as a whole. According to the research data at Atommash, in those families where both spouses are professionally employed, the average income per family member is approximately 30 percent higher than in families where the wife does not work. There is approximately the same situation at the BAM. For persons without families the income per person is 203 rubles a month and for persons with families 137 rubles a month. From this it follows that the persons who came to the areas of new industrial development with plans to improve their material status, in the instance that both spouses do not obtain an opportunity to work in their specialty, become potential re-migrants. All the more as the functional purpose of the earnings of the spouses usually differs substantially from the nature of the expenditure of these funds by persons without families. Among the former income goes predominantly for forming and developing the family home and providing for and raising children, while in the latter income goes usually to purchase some expensive item and only in a certain portion of all instances to create the material base for a future family.

The designated circumstance can to a certain degree explain why construction workers with families more often remain in those cities which are established in the construction areas as for them, if they obtain the required housing, the forming of a home becomes a reality even during the construction period. This undoubtedly makes an impression on their choice of further activities.

The expert questioning within the research at Atommash showed that of decisive significance for stabilizing personnel in the given specific area are such factors as (in diminishing order) an improvement in living conditions, a good supply of foodstuffs, good organization of labor, the presence of places in preschool children's institutions and interesting work. More than one-half of the experts pointed to these factors. But if we consider the opinions of those participants in the expert evaluation who preferred the answer "as a whole is influential but not decisively," then the distribution of the most important factors would be as follows: the possibility of improving living conditions, a good supply of foodstuffs, the presence of places in preschool children's

institutions, interesting work, a good organization of labor and rhythmical operation of municipal transport. These factors were pointed out by 90 percent and more of all the experts.

The questioning of the construction workers themselves did not make any substantial corrections to these judgments. Moreover, a predominance of infrastructure factors as crucial motives for remaining was all the starker in the replies of the respondents. These factors held the first eight places out of nine, including the first three. Consequently, the data of the survey can be viewed not only as a confirmation of the trend disclosed in the expert evaluation but as yet another confirmation of the reliability of the latter as a method of obtaining empirical information.

Virtually identical results on the conditions for retaining workers in construction were obtained at the BAM.

Now let us compare this averaged information with certain results of a separate survey of construction workers with and without families and concerning the conditions for not moving (see Table 2).

Table 2
Conditions for the Retaining of Workers With and Without Families
in the Construction of the BAM

Conditions for the remaining of workers up to end of project*	Respondents, %	
	With families	Without
Interesting work	26.8	36.7
Possibility of improving skills	15.8	28.1
Possibility of obtaining housing	46.7	35.0
Available places in creches, nurseries	32.0	4.9
Good supply of food products	74.3	59.9
Good supply of children's food products	28.1	8.8
Possibility of interesting leisure activities	23.5	33.2
Good operation of public dining enterprises	9.8	17.5
Possibility of employing all adult members of family	8.3	2.4
Possibility of continuing education	8.3	21.0
Possibility of further study for children	10.3	2.9
Good relations with work comrades	16.2	27.7

*The respondents could mark several versions of the answer.

Thus, although construction workers with families gave more attention to conditions involving production activities¹ (interesting job, good relations with

¹This trend was expressed more strongly in questioning the Atomnash construction workers and this was partially due to certain differences in the research methods and in particular the larger number of questions concerning vocational and labor activities in the Volgodonsk questionnaire.

work comrades), the basic sphere of their interests which predetermined the decision to remain lies outside the limits of professional labor activities. They gave greatest significance (in diminishing order) to good supply (this also was in first place in the group of workers without families), the possibility of obtaining housing (this was in third place in the group without families), to the presence of places in the children's creches and nurseries and to improving the supply of children's food products. The fact that the possibility of obtaining housing has a comparatively high rank among workers without families is obviously caused by the fact that they link the plans to remain with the founding of a family. The great significance which the young people without families give to this prospect was particularly apparent in the survey at Atomnash (7th rank out of 21).

The dominance of considerations concerning primarily family activities among construction workers with families was expressed in the fact that among the respondents whose wife was employed in construction at the moment of the survey, those wishing to leave were 2.5-fold less than among those whose wives were engaged only in housework. It is worthy of note that to the direct question of a desire or lack of desire to remain in the area of new industrial development, 48.1 percent of the youth and 57.8 percent of the construction workers in the older age groups answered definitely with the figures, respectively, of 49.8 and 62.6 percent at Atomnash. Here the percentage of those desiring to remain at Atomnash was significantly higher than in the areas where construction on the BAM was underway. However, most interesting and characteristic both for Atomnash and particularly for the BAM was the large number of those who still vacillated in making a definite decision (50.2 percent of the youth and 37.4 percent of the older age construction workers at Atomnash and 51.9 percent of all the workers on the BAM). Here a majority of the vacillators in either instance was made up of workers with families. Since more than three-quarters of them were basically satisfied by the conditions of their professional labor, it can be assumed that their doubts were determined primarily by the ambiguity of the alternative, that is, would housing construction and domestic services improve and with what intensity. This meant that if the lag in housing construction and consumer services could be overcome in the stage of building the industrial projects, all these families would remain to live and work in the corresponding regions. Moreover, as according to the research data on Atomnash, approximately one-third of the remigrants usually returns to the areas from which they came.

Certainly, depending upon the conditions, the type of enterprise and the composition of the collective, the ratio between the direct production factors and the factors of consumer services and the infrastructure as a whole can vary. Thus, in cities with a stable population or an enterprise where the basic mass of employees is comprised of persons who have already established their family and home, the urgency of housing and domestic problems is usually somewhat less. However, as a rule, their practical resolution still lags behind those demands which are placed on the infrastructure by production intensification.

In a speech at the Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on 22 November 1982, Yu. V. Andropov said: "It is essential to create conditions--organizational and economic--which would encourage qualitative labor productivity, initiative and entrepreneurship" [5]. Among these conditions, improved efficiency of the

infrastructure in solving production as well as sociopolitical and cultural-ideological tasks holds one of the most important places.

In the given context the question of improving the mechanism for a positive effect of the infrastructure on developing production has assumed ever-greater practical significance. The negative effect arises and appears spontaneously as if things are poorly organized in the city (village, worker settlement or enterprise) in the area of everyday life, transportation and leisure then personnel turnover increases, there is less time and energy for productive labor and exactingness and discipline are less.

However, more and more frequently instances are observed where housing and domestic conditions improve for the workers but labor productivity, quality, discipline and even turnover remain on the former level. Without going into the details of this problem which requires a special and thorough investigation, we will limit ourselves to just one hypothesis. Production feels the results of the lag in the infrastructure but it partially does not feel the results of its development because the degree of the use of these latter results by an individual worker, as a rule, does not directly depend upon how industriously he works as the apartment remains virtually under any circumstances, the rights to other goods from developing everyday life are an automatic consequence of his living in the given place and working at the given enterprise with a larger share of them paid for predominantly from public funds. As a result, it turns out that production gains until the lag in the infrastructure is overcome but when the need arises for its more rapid development, production shows ever-less interest in solving this question and this inevitably again leads to a lag in the sphere of culture and everyday life. To put it briefly, the improving of the mechanism for the effectiveness of the infrastructure, like, evidently, certain other mechanisms, as yet is impeded by the unrestrained desire for leveling, both in practice as well as at times in theory, too. In one element the relationship of production and the infrastructure is highly effective at any stage in the progress of the latter [that is, the infrastructure]. This element is social consumer services and its role in freeing the time and creative forces of a family from the drudgery of household labor. However, it is precisely here that the infrastructure is developed usually least of all and correspondingly causes the most tangible losses, not only to production but also to the family and its social functions.

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CSO: 1806/23

ON CERTAIN ASPECTS OF ESTABLISHING THE BRIGADE ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

Moscow SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press
19 Apr 83) pp 96-102

[Article by Al'fred Al'fredovich Sarno, Aleksandr L'vovich Slobodskoy, Sergey Iosifovich Faybushevich and Gelyi Nikolayevich Cherkasov. The authors are co-workers from the Chair of Sociology and the Scientific Organization of Labor at the Leningrad Financial-Economics Institute imeni N. A. Voznesenskiy. All, with the exception of G. N. Cherkasov, are appearing for the first time in our journal. A. A. Sarno is a candidate of economic sciences, a senior instructor and specialist in the area of socioeconomic planning. A. L. Slobodskoy is a candidate of psychological sciences and specializes in the problems of socio-psychological relations in labor collectives. S. I. Faybushevich is a senior science associate and specialist in the sociology of organizations. G. N. Cherkasov is a doctor of economic sciences, professor, head of the chair, specialist on socioeconomic problems of labor and the author of over 150 scientific works including the monographs "Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskiye problemy intensivnosti truda v SSSR" [Socioeconomic Problems of Labor Intensity in the USSR] (1966), "Nauchnaya organizatsiya truda: tseli, soderzhaniye, metody" [The Scientific Organization of Labor: Goals, Content and Methods] (1967), "Sotsiologiya truda i profsoyuzy" [The Sociology of Labor and Trade Unions] (1970). In our journal he has published the articles "Sociologists at Industrial Enterprises" (No 1, 1974 as co-author) and "Social Effectiveness: Essence and Criteria" (No 1, 1978).]

[Text] During the current five-year plan, the number of workers who are brigade members should increase by more than 2- or 3-fold. Thus, there will occur (and already is occurring) a process encompassing many thousands of enterprises and millions of workers of rapidly spreading qualitatively new forms of the organization of labor. Thus, in Soviet industry, over the period from 1 August through 31 December 1981, the proportional amount of workers covered by the brigade form of the organization of labor increased from 42.9 to 52.5 percent; the increase was almost 2.8 million persons. Presently, two-thirds of the workers are already employed in brigades at the enterprises of certain ministries.

In the literature, the idea has sometimes been voiced that the brigade form provides an economic and social effect merely by the very fact of its existence [2, 3]. At the same time, under the conditions when the party has set out to intensify social production, the development of the brigade organization of labor cannot be carried out without a simultaneous and sharp rise in the

effective work of the brigades by the maximum utilization of the technical, organizational and social factors.

Under present-day conditions, the center of gravity in the development of the organization of labor has shifted, in our opinion, into the area of the direct coordination of the labor by the workers and the expression of this cooperation is the brigades but not as a sporadic but as a typical phenomenon. In industry, the given type of primary labor cooperation is an objective consequence of the high saturating of production with diverse and evermore complex equipment, of the rapid rise in the number and complexity of production ties, of the level of overall culture, training, labor activity and social needs of the workers. We feel that the immediate future will provide new examples in the development of the collective forms of the organization of labor and these undoubtedly will come to hold a leading place in production. A narrow division of labor in the form of its individual organization will never, in our mind, further play the dominant role in production, in any event in material production. Of course, for completely proving the given thesis, it would be essential to work out the socioeconomic questions for the action of the law of labor cooperation and the applied problems for the development of collective forms for the organization of the latter under various production situations.

Here the following must be emphasized. At present, the economic role of the organization of labor has risen sharply in comparison with technical innovations. An analysis of statistical data shows that from the viewpoint of the overall economic effect the introduction of a new organization of labor provides the national economy with more than the introduction of new equipment. In the 1970's, the absolute amounts of the annual effect from new equipment exceeded the effect from the organization of labor by 5-5.5-fold and in terms of the hypothetical freeing of employees by 1.3-1.5-fold. One measure in the area of new equipment released 0.8-0.9 person with expenditures of up to 12,500 rubles. The effect per ruble of expenditures was 50 kopecks. But a measure within the area of NOT released 0.5 person with expenditures of approximately 800 rubles, that is, the expenditures were 7.5-fold less while the effect was approximately 2.5-fold greater [4].

As we see, in the economic context there are indisputable advantages for the improving of the organization of labor. However, the presently existing statistical reporting does not make it possible to establish to what degree the given results are due to the brigade organization of labor. Reliable data on the economic effectiveness of brigades are found only for individual enterprises (the Kaluga Pipe Plant, the VAZ [Volga Motor Vehicle Plant], as well as a number of Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk and other enterprises) or for various shops and sections in different plants. Thus, as yet it is extremely difficult to provide an exhaustive answer with specific indicators to the question of in what area and why the brigade form is more effective than the individual organization of labor. For elucidating this at a number of Leningrad machine building enterprises we conducted comparative research and in addition compared the statistical data for a number of the large associations in the different industrial sectors. The results of the analysis were varied.

In some instances, the brigade organization of labor provides noticeable positive economic and social results in the form of the accelerated growth of labor

productivity and product quality, the more intensive use of the equipment and the development of labor initiative among the workers and engineer-technical personnel. For example, characteristic are the data for tractor production at the Kirovskiy Zavod Association. Here with the same technical and organizational conditions, in the brigades 39 percent of the workers combine specialties while with the individual organization of labor it is 25 percent; among the brigade members 35 percent of the respondents operated more than three equipment units while among the individual workers it was less than 23 percent; some 15 percent of the brigade members had an individual quality stamp while only 3 percent with the individual organization; 85 percent of those employed in brigades had honorary titles of "shock worker of communist labor," "victor of the socialist competition," "worker of high efficiency and excellent quality" and "best in profession" while 54 percent had these among the individual workers. Analogous results were obtained also at other major associations.

At the same time, in a number of instances the average percentage of fulfilling the output norms in the brigades does not differ substantially from the average for the enterprise and sometimes this is lower than among those working individually. Here in the brigades wages are 5-15 percent higher. The product quality indicator far from always improves noticeably with the extensive introduction of brigades. Sometimes the members are inclined to put the responsibility for the organization of work on the administration and commit major violations of labor discipline.

In our view, such contradictory results are quite natural and show that by itself the creation of a brigade in no way is an absolute guarantee for success. At many enterprises this is a poorly developed organism; the brigades in essence are just being established as a permanent socioeconomic system. Indicative in the given instance are the results of a survey concerning factors which would ensure normal operation. The members of the broken up brigades mentioned the following organizational reasons for their elimination: a) un-rhythymical operation (83 percent of the respondents); b) shortcomings in planning (76 percent); c) interruptions in material and technical supply (62 percent). Moreover, such factors were mentioned as the lack of preparation of the leadership for working under the conditions of the mass introduction of the brigade form for the organization of labor, the lack of the necessary tools and fittings and the absence of a regulation which would govern the distribution of professional functions between foreman and brigade leader.

Among the economic factors which caused dissatisfaction with work in a brigade, the respondents mentioned: a) the lack of a regulation which made it possible to objectively assess the contribution of each brigade member to the end results of the work (76 percent of the persons questions); b) the lack of a document making it possible to accurately calculate the wages obtained per order (53 percent); c) the lack of technically sound standards for the end result of the brigade's work (36 percent); d) the decline in wages during the initial period of the work (86 percent).

As for the actual social factors, the greatest dissatisfaction among the brigade members was caused by the following: a) the inadequate forms of social self-organization which developed in a number of instances (36 percent of the respondents); b) the lack of an effective collective responsibility for the

brigade's work results (33 percent); c) the methods of brigade leadership and the absence of clear instructions regulating the procedure for determining the candidacy of the brigade leader (28 percent).

Many elements in the brigade organization have still not become firmly established. This can be seen from the instances of the uneven distribution in the most important components of the brigade method at enterprises of the same sectors. (The given data characterize the work of brigades in nine machine building industries in 1981.) Thus, the share of workers in brigades operating under the conditions of cost accounting varied from 4.8 to 12.4 percent; the number of workers in brigades with payment for the end result (in percent of the number of workers in brigades with payment by a single order and a normed quota) was from 22.1 to 97 percent; the number of workers in brigades employing the labor participation coefficient was from 27.3 to 54.6 percent.

What should the "trajectory" be for the development of brigades, just what does the transition from the inferior to the superior type of the brigade organization of labor consist of and what conditions are essential for the effective functioning of the latter? The answers to these questions presuppose primarily the creation of a typology of brigades and on a broader level models for the development of the brigade organization of labor. Ordinarily brigades are classified depending upon the nature of production: specialized, integrated, rotating, shift in basic and auxiliary production and so forth. In such or similar classifications one cannot see either the development prospects of the brigade method or the sources of its effectiveness. Our attempts based on the mentioned typology to determine the most effective types of brigades did not produce any permanent data. For example, at the Kirovskiy Zavod Association, according to some indicators the integrated brigades are more effective, the specialized ones may be using other indicators, in certain instances the rotating brigades work better and in others the shift brigades.

The development patterns of the brigade method can be seen more clearly if one isolates the various types of brigades depending upon the degree of their saturation with collectivist principles. Such a typology should describe such fundamental aspects in the functioning of a collective as the level of self-organization, the labor and social activeness of the workers, attitude toward labor and so forth. A theory making it possible to carry out these cognitive tasks is, in our view, a theory of the staged development of a collective [5].

In accord with the given concept, it is possible to establish several levels or types for the organization of a collective. The first is the undeveloped germinial type, when the collective has just formally been established. It exists solely as the mechanical total of the workers. In the given instance we are concerned with a diffuse group. Here social commonness is either absent or is based on a system of interpersonal, informal relations (emotional preferences) or is mediated by the content of joint activity, since the latter is absent. Correspondingly the inner conditions for activity really do not serve as an incentive for increasing labor efficiency. Brigades put in the first type possessed, according to the research results, certain important features of the brigade status (the order on forming the brigade, the assigning of a work zone and equipment to the collective, payment according to a single order and so forth). But the economic and social results of activities, as a rule, were

very meager. During the first stages of the work to develop the brigade organization of labor, this type of collective comprised, according to our data, around two-thirds of all the brigades. It is also essential to bear in mind that in similar, just formed brigades at first the economic indicators may not only decline but also pessimistic attitudes on the possibilities of the brigade method may become widespread.

Characteristic of the second type of brigades (the development stage) is the presence of a number of elements and properties which not only formally but also essentially reflect the qualitative features of directly collective labor, that is: payment according to the end results, a work plan, multimachine servicing, the combining of specialties, the distribution of earnings using the KTU [labor participation coefficient], the clear status of the brigade leader, the functioning of the brigade council and the spread of cost accounting relations. In such collectives there is a marked growth of economic and social indicators. In the process of the adopting of clear socially significant goals by the group and the creation of the corresponding organization, joint activities gradually assume for the workers an evermore conscious character and emotional preferences are replaced by an awareness of each group member of his contribution to the end result. The given type of brigades can be defined as a cooperation or association. This is an intermediate stage in the forming of a collective marked by the fact that interpersonal relations are mediated by the content of joint activity which is personally significant for the worker.

The final stage in a group's development is the turning of it into a collective. The basic traits of the given type of community is the going beyond of the limits of group interests, a common positive social focus to activity and a high degree in the development of the entire system of group relations. Usually such brigades achieve a maximum of production efficiency, the workers show high social activeness in the various spheres and in their conduct follow the underlying standards of the socialist way of life. Examples of such activeness could be: counterplans, the freeing of workers upon brigade initiative by increasing labor productivity and so forth. Characteristic of the given type of collective is not only a large number of above-noted brigade features but also a high degree of their development, such as: permanent and constant functioning of the councils, the broad distribution of cost accounting, contracts on cooperation with related brigades and functional services and so forth. Hence the steady economic and social results. According to our data, in the third type of brigades in comparison with the first (with equal and sometimes even less favorable organizational and technical conditions) the increase in labor productivity is over double, the product quality is higher, here 5-fold more workers are rationalizers while personnel turnover is 4-fold less. At the same time, it must be stated that only 7 percent of the workers are brought together in such brigades.

Obviously, the social self-organization of a brigade collective does not occur spontaneously but rather is purposefully shaped in the process of realizing the prerequisites residing in the objective production ties and relations. This is a question of making certain that the particular features of the production process at the given enterprise, the methods of planning and accounting, material and moral incentives and so forth put the workers in direct and intensive

dependence on one another. In this manner a new social quality is formed making it possible to achieve primarily significant economic results. The brigade organization of labor should encourage an attitude on the part of the workers to labor where the level of labor activeness to a significant degree is determined by a feeling of responsibility to the collective of comrades. As a result, one achieves, in the words of K. Marx, "an unique excitement of vital energy...increasing the individual productivity of separate persons" [1].

Correspondingly, the phenomenon of a brigade and its social quality are manifested only to the degree to which the collective is capable of purposefully regulating the factors which determine the effectiveness of joint activities. The strength of the brigade is greater, on the one hand, the more consistently the collective is capable of forming and realizing a long-range strategy for increasing the effectiveness of its own efforts and, on the other, the more this strategy conforms to the organization of production existing at the enterprise. Only then do the mutual control, activeness and initiative of the workers obtain a dependable basis [6].

Practice convincingly shows that a brigade takes to regulating the labor productivity factors within its control only in the instance that this ends with a proportional effect in the increased labor productivity of the entire collective and with greater material and moral incentives. But if the stability of the factors "external" to the brigade is below the minimum justified from the viewpoint of the active social standards, then the attempts to use the internal reserves, as a rule, are doomed to failure. The unreliability of the deliveries of stock and fittings, unrhythmic production, the inconsistent demands of the OTK [technical inspection department], the unsoundness of output standards and poor organization of labor--all of this impedes the organization of the brigades. In sections with such an organization either the brigades are not set up or, having once been organized they are rapidly allowed to fall apart or, finally, exist only formally.

The creation of brigades presupposes, in our view, the step-by-step carrying out of the following tasks: 1) the formation of a direct and permanent link between the systems of moral and material remuneration for the results of the brigade's labor as well as a range of production organizational factors which determine the effectiveness of collective activity; 2) the gradual and ever-broader turning over to the brigade's bodies of the means and levers for influencing the given factors. In other words, it is a question of the step-by-step formation of brigade cost accounting. Namely the latter puts worker earnings dependent upon a range of production efficiency factors and under the conditions of the brigade method dependent primarily on those factors which the workers can influence. These include: the saving of stock, energy, tools, a careful attitude toward equipment, the prompt fulfillment of quotas, rhythmical production, product quality and so forth.

The connecting of cost accounting to the brigade contract requires a solution to a number of problems. In the first place, it is essential to create a method for assessing the worker's activities not only for the listed range of characteristics. Here the basic difficulty is to organize the accounting of stock, materials, tools and energy. The main thing is accounting and storing of products between operations. Secondly, substantial changes should be made in

planning practices, particularly the planning of the wage fund. Without carrying out the principles of the Shchokino method, cost accounting in the brigades will largely have a formal nature. Of course, the cost accounting mechanisms operating on the various levels of the organization of production need closer coordination, that is, between the brigade--section--shop--production--enterprise. In our opinion, it makes no sense to attempt to organize brigades operating on cost accounting in those shops where this is absent or where they use indicators which are not incorporated in the shop cost accounting system.

Does this mean that a brigade does not exist without cost accounting? Of course not. At present, in industry the brigades operating on cost accounting employ approximately 9.2 percent of all the workers (a maximum of 24-26 percent at the enterprises of the Ministry of Light Industry and the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building). The converting of the predominant number of brigades into one's operating on cost accounting is the ideal. This can be achieved only as a result of making progress along the entire front of progressive changes in the organization of production. The brigade contract should not lag behind such changes but also it cannot anticipate them. An optimum structure of development consists in the systematic incorporation in brigade relations of those new production ties which can contribute to an improving of its internal organization.

In summing up what has been said, the following conclusions can be drawn.

1. The brigade organization of labor cannot be viewed as a brief task or campaign. This is not a tactic but rather one of the strategic lines for the development of production. The main indicator for solving the given problem is to turn the brigade into the basic production cell or "modulus" for the organization of production. For this, there must be a certain reorganization in all aspects of the economy, including: production processes, management, planning, norm setting, wages, the activities of the enterprise functional services, the personnel training and retraining system and so forth.
2. The mass attraction of workers to brigades should be viewed not only as an organizational but also a social phenomenon, since the establishing of brigades involves a sharp increase in the role of the primary collectives in production management. In particular, an opportunity arises for sharply reducing managerial personnel and, as the experience of many enterprises shows, the question of the relationship of functions between the brigade leaders and foremen is even now an acute one.
3. In order to avoid the "social warping" in the development of the brigades, they must be set up as the objective and subjective prerequisites arise at the enterprise. Here an important role can be played by the elaboration and introduction of a specific, comprehensive program which encompasses the technical organizational, economic and social aspects and ensures the step-by-step development of the brigade. Clearly such a program should be preceded by the collection and analysis of empirical information and the incorporating of the necessary measures in the forecasts and plans for socioeconomic development of the sectors and enterprises.

4. In setting up the brigades, particular attention should be paid to the forming of a collectivist conscience among its members and to instilling aware labor discipline, a feeling of responsibility for the results of common labor, initiative and activity in utilizing the opportunities of the brigade method.

5. The existing normative documents concerning the methods of organizing the brigades should be supplemented by standard (and sectorial) recommendations on planning the development of the brigade organization of labor.

6. Up to now, the place of a brigade in the organizational-managerial structure of an enterprise has not been clearly determined. It is essential to work out new structures which are directly oriented at collective forms of the organization of labor.

Thus, the broad dissemination of the brigade organization of labor should be viewed as one of the most important incentives in reorganizing production management in the interests of the intensification and increased efficiency of production.

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10272

CSO: 1806/23

SOCIAL DEVIATION AS A RESEARCH PROBLEM

Moscow SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press
19 Apr 83) pp 111-117

[Article by Vladimir Nikolayevich Kudryavtsev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and director of the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences and author of several monographs. Among these are: "Pravo i provedeniye" [Law and Conduct] (1978), "Pravovoye povedeniye: norma i patologiya" [Legal Conduct: The Norm and Pathology] (1982) and others. Our journal has published his article "Sociological Problems in Investigating Antisocial Behavior" (No 1, 1974).]

[Text] The successful carrying out of the tasks of economic and social development and the strengthening of our nation's defense capability requires the active combating of any negative phenomena such as embezzlement, absences without leave, drunkenness and the violations of state and labor discipline. "...Using all organizational, financial and legal means, it is essential to firmly close off any loopholes for idleness, bribery, speculation, for unearned income and any encroachments against socialist property" [1, p 59]. Increased effectiveness in the struggle against crime and other types of anti-social conduct presupposes a thorough elucidation of their nature and specific historical factors as well as a thorough analysis of the means of establishing and eradicating violations of the law.

The social standard and the deviation from it. Various types of antisocial conduct have one common trait: they all represent a violation of the social standards existing in our society. On the individual level these are legal and moral standards which ensure the inviolability, dignity as well as the activeness of the citizen. On the level of small social groups (the family or labor collective) these are the standards of socialist intercourse which establish and reinforce the socially approved and encouraged relationships between people and our socialist way of life. Among social deviation one must put also the dysfunctions of social institutions which should satisfy the needs and interests of Soviet citizens. These dysfunctions are manifested in the poor work of individual elements in the state apparatus and in manifestations of a narrow departmental approach, localism and bureaucracy.

A social standard of conduct contains the characteristics of such phenomena, states and processes which are natural to a given social system, typical and advantageous for it under the given historical conditions and reflect its

class and social nature. It can be said that the standard is a measure of the useful, socially necessary functioning of society and its social institutions and of the conduct of small social groups and individuals. In our society a social standard operates not only as the desired and the proper but primarily as the actually existing, the essential and, as a rule, the realizable in objective reality [3].

Conversely, social deviations are phenomena alien to the nature of a socialist society and which impede its ongoing development. A decisive struggle against absences without leave and alcoholism, violations of the law and crime, official abuses and mismanagement is an urgent task not only for the state law protecting bodies but also the broad community.

Since the demands of social necessity differ and at times are contradictory for various historical social formations, the concept of a standard for each of them takes on a specific class content.

Must any phenomenon which does not coincide with the features of the social standard be considered as a social deviation? This question arises because the trend of the deviations from the established standards of conduct can vary. Certain authors feel that social deviations (deviance), in being a property of any social system, encompass both the useful deviations from the standard such as innovation and social creativity as well as disrupting actions and social pathology. For this reason the mentioned authors also consider as social deviations the positive processes and actions "which as yet have not become a mass phenomenon" [4].

One can scarcely agree with this without reservation. If we view the social standard as a class category, then an assessment of the deviations from it should also be class determined and it cannot be the same for all socioeconomic systems.

For a socialist society, innovation, creativity and the breaking of old canons are a historical requirement and an objective necessity. "It is a question of elaborating a work style," as was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, "which would organically bring together efficiency and discipline with bold initiative and entrepreneurship.... It is impossible to adapt a living, developing economic management organism to the established, customary forms. On the contrary, the forms should be brought into conformity with the changing economic tasks. Only in this way can the question be posed" [1, p 51].

In our nation, social phenomena and processes with a positive, socially useful focus, although not yet becoming mass and generally recognized, can scarcely be termed social deviations. For a capitalist society which does not have prospects for historical development, such terminology while not always justified in any event is comprehensible. But it in no way is acceptable for characterizing the dynamic processes of socialist and communist construction. For our society, innovation and social creativity are not the deviation but rather the standard.

Individual negative deviations from the standard assume the quality of social ones under certain conditions which would include: a) a uniform trend for such

deviations in similar groups of persons under similar conditions; b) a closeness or even unity of factors causing these to occur; c) the presence of a certain repetition or permanency of the designated phenomena [5]. Thus, social deviations are not random facts but rather processes which assume a certain distribution in a society or manifest a trend toward this. Consequently, the combating of social deviations also should be not of an episodic or random nature but should be organized and purposeful. This presupposes a profound study of all forms of deviant conduct.

The structure and dynamics of social deviation. In an analysis of social deviations one must first of all elucidate the general picture of the distribution of the latter in a society (with social, demographic, territorial and other breakdowns) as well as their structure and dynamics over time.

Over the 60 years of Soviet power, the crime rate in our nation has shown a clear tendency to decline and stabilize [6]. However, this should not give rise to an attitude of complacency. There still are cities and regions with a high level of violations of the law. Juvenile crime causes great concern and there are many official and economic crimes. As was pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, under present-day conditions "there are manifestations of selfishness and Philistinism, acquisitiveness and an indifference to the concerns and deeds of the people. Drunkenness causes a great deal of harm to society and the family..." [1, p 64].

Crime and other infractions, drunkenness and alcoholism are closely interrelated. Criminological research has shown that approximately 75 percent of the intentional severe crimes against the individual (murder, rape, bodily harm), up to 90 percent of the hooligan crimes, three-quarters of the thefts and robberies and over one-half of the theft of personal property and so forth are committed under the influence of alcohol [7, p 230]. Among the studied juvenile criminals, more than 52 percent grew up in families the members of which were constantly drunk and led an amoral way of life [8, p 61].

Sampling research conducted in the 1970's provides an opportunity to judge the overall level of the spread of alcoholic beverage abuse. Over the period from 1955 through 1975, in the cities chronic alcoholism occurred as an average in 4.9-5 cases per 1,000 inhabitants and in rural localities there were 2.5-3 cases. We would point out that for the 15 leading capitalist nations, the analogous indicators are significantly higher: they, respectively, equaled 14.8 and 6.2 [9, p 82].

In truth, there is no complete statistics on all types of socially deviant behavior. While a study of the state and dynamics of crime and partially alcoholism is now being made rather regularly (both by the justice and public health bodies and by scientific institutions), this cannot be said about research on a series of other social deviations such as amoralism or manifestations of a departmental approach, bureaucracy or a negligent attitude toward a job. The accounting for these phenomena remains incomplete and fragmentary or is completely lacking. Sufficiently significant and representative sociological studies on the mentioned problems are also encountered extremely rarely.

The question of restoring so-called "moral statistics" as has been repeatedly raised in the press [10] up to now has not been affirmatively resolved. All of this prevents the creation of a complete and interrelated picture of the state and dynamics of social deviations and this in turn reduces the possibility of effective planning and organizing the combating of them.

A complete and objective understanding of the state, structure and dynamics of crime, other infractions, drunkenness and alcoholism on the territory of a rayon, city, oblast or republic mobilizes public opinion to combat these negative phenomena, it strengthens a feeling of intolerance for them and indicates the "hot spots" which require increased attention. Scientific analysis of these questions should be dispassionate and objective; here its aim does not come down to a mere stating of the situation; science here acts as a "gadfly," pointing out the alarming aspects in the state of social awareness and conduct and offering real ways for rectifying the shortcomings.

An elucidation of the inner structure of social deviations and the mechanisms of the interaction between their elements is of equal scientific and practical significance. Research has shown that each variety of social deviation, as a rule, includes not only the violating of a legal, moral or other social demand (prescript) but also a warping of the value orientations relating to the given area and a rupturing or distorting of social ties and relationships. To one degree or another such a warping is also related to the dysfunction of the corresponding social institutions and at times to the distorting of social processes of a general nature. An analysis of these phenomena provides an opportunity to disclose the reasons for social deviations and outline the ways of preventing them.

Let us give an example. In 1981, our nation established criminal liability for the illegal sale of commodities from warehouses, depots, from the service facilities of trade or public dining enterprises as well as for obtaining illegal remuneration for performing work or rendering services which are part of the worker's official duties [11]. Thus, the listed actions which are clearly contradictory to the interests of Soviet society and to the standards of morality have become punishable and criminal.

The mentioned flagrant violations of moral and legal requirements certainly did not arise spontaneously. These developed gradually, being the result of the linking of at least two factors, subjective and objective, namely: distorted value orientations among a portion of workers in the service sphere and shortcomings in the functioning of the sector's institutions and enterprises.

Several years ago A. B. Chyapas in five cities and ten rayons of Lithuania questioned 789 trade workers who had not been involved in criminal proceedings on their attitude toward the safekeeping of socialist property. Some 57 percent of them asserted that it was quite acceptable to use for personal ends the saved goods and products resulting from natural losses [12]. Similar substantial deviations in the value orientations of law breakers were established in later research of G. Kh. Yefremova [13]. As for the dysfunctions of the service sphere institutions, the specific steps to "decisively end the machinations with scarce commodities, to activate the struggle by the appropriate state bodies against all forms of abuses in this sphere and to strengthen worker

control" [1, p 59] were aimed precisely at eradicating them. We would point out that the dysfunctions of the social institutions, like the distortions of human value orientations, cannot be explained merely by subjective factors, for example, by the vestiges of the past in the awareness of people. "These are fostered at times by our own miscalculations in work," commented Yu. V. Andropov [2]. These miscalculations are related primarily to unskillful management as well as to other shortcomings such as poor work of the service sphere institutions, the lack of proper concern for people, incorrect planning and so forth.

Undesirable social phenomena can also have their initial source in objective demographic or social processes if they are not properly regulated. For example, let us take the reduced increase in worker resources which complicates our economic development in the 1980's. The primary cause of this is the "echo of the war," that is, the reduced increase in the productive-age population. At the same time, other factors have operated and continue to operate, for example, the trend toward a decline in the birthrate including because of the increased number of divorces. As is known, the number of divorces per 1,000 marriages has risen from 104 in 1960 up to 332 in 1976 [14]. The change in the economic functions of the family and, respectively, the system of ideas concerning marriage, the family and the number of children has contributed to the forming of a lower level of marital fecundity [15]. An orientation toward a small family is also related to the breaking of traditional views and customs and to the specific way of life, particularly in the cities, and to the material and domestic conditions in the life of the mother [16].

The reduced increase in labor resources has had a negative impact upon a number of aspects of society's life and in particular on the level of observing social (legal and moral) standards. The manpower shortage plays into the hands of the violators of labor discipline, absentees and loafers and the disrupters of production. The "liberalism" caused by this shortage toward the violators of production discipline and social order must be overcome not only by the strictness of the laws but primarily by the instituting of elementary order in the placement of personnel, by utilizing all existing reserves as well as by the planned change in the demographic situation.

The combating of social deviations. What has been said shows that the combating of social deviations should have a comprehensive nature. Its basic areas are related to the following four elements: an analysis of the situation--the organizing of labor and everyday life--the preventing of deviations--responsibility for violating the standards of conduct. Above it was already mentioned that for promptly detecting and preventing social deviations it is essential to have daily analysis of their state, structure and dynamics on the level of the labor collective, the department as well as the individual region and the entire nation. Such analysis involves specific difficulties as the principals in socially deviant conduct are ordinarily not interested in disclosing this and they conceal the facts known to them. This means the need to employ indirect accounting and research methods which have been rather well elaborated in sociology, criminology and criminal statistics.

A study of the entire range of social deviations requires the creation of a modern, more powerful scientific base which as yet is lacking. Various types of social deviations at present are being studied in isolation, within individual departmental institutes. But all types of deviations are closely interrelated and are subordinate to the same or at least similar patterns. Consequently, they should be studied comprehensively. Possibly we should broaden the specialization of the All-Union Institute for the Study of Causes and for Elaborating Measures to Prevent Crime, having turned it into a major scientific center of an interdepartmental nature. It would analyze the state and causes not only of crime but also other infractions (administrative, civil, labor, family, in the sphere of conservation and so forth) as well as alcoholism, drug addiction, negative phenomena in the sphere of activities of state workers and so forth.

The proper organization of the labor and everyday life of people is a most important condition for increasing discipline and for an effective struggle against socially deviant conduct. Yu. V. Andropov emphasized that when it is an issue of discipline, one has in mind the entire labor production chain. "It is essential to impose order everywhere that work minutes are being lost. It is a question of a serious attitude toward all aspects of production discipline, including technological, supply and so forth." "The instilling of order actually does not require any capital investments but produces an enormous effect."

On the basis of a good organization of labor it would be possible to successfully carry out preventive measures and raise the responsibility of each for the assigned job.

Over the last decade in our nation a preventive system has been organized or, more accurately, several systems depending upon the types of deviant conduct: the services for the prevention of crime within the system of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] [17], the narcological dispensaries and offices to prevent alcoholism in the system of the USSR Ministry of Public Health [9], and the labor preventive dispensaries and offices for social-psychiatric aid [18]. In the RSFSR, they have worked out and are implementing a comprehensive republic program of scientific research on the problem of alcoholism for 1981-1990; this also includes the elaboration of preventive measures [18].

However, all these services and systems, like the research programs, unfortunately remain fragmentary and not sufficiently intercoordinated, while the social deviations themselves--crime, drunkenness and amorality--interact and contribute to one another. It is becoming obvious that there is an urgent need for the joining of forces by the state and social, legal and medical, scientific and practical bodies in the aims of effectively combating socially deviant conduct and establishing the standards of Soviet law and communist morality. The coordinating of preventive work on the scale of the nation, republic or region presupposes a good knowledge of the social situation and this, in turn, requires the carrying out of comprehensive research under uniform programs.

Finally, the fourth element is the responsibility of the violators of social standards. Soviet legislation contains rather strict provisions directed against persons guilty of crimes and other infractions. However, the actual

inevitability of being held responsible is far from always achieved. According to the data of sociological research, up to 40 percent of the juvenile violators hoped to avoid responsibility. There are certain grounds for these hopes as in more than 32 percent of the cases, the schools investigated by criminologists (in production collectives the figure was 24 percent) did not react at all to violations committed by their members [19]. The incomplete registration of infractions, their poor investigation, the variability of court sentences and other violations of the law on liability for antisocial actions seriously weaken the inevitability of punishment and consequently the effectiveness of responsibility. Connivance with drunks and hooligans, speculators and loafers, the violators of labor and social discipline, bribe takers and the squanderers of the people's wealth contradicts the Soviet way of life and communist morality.

The combating of these negative phenomena is not just any campaign. This struggle should be carried out and is being carried out in our nation consistently and purposefully, on the basis of and in strict accord with the law. It presupposes an individual approach to each person who has deviated from the requirements of the social standard, a humane attitude toward people and a desire to rehabilitate and re-educate them and make them useful members of society. High exactingness and responsibility combined with sensitivity and attention to a person, an awareness of social discipline and implacability toward its violators are important conditions for our progress. Scientific research on the urgent questions of combating social deviations and practical efforts in this struggle should be aimed at further strengthening its effectiveness and results, at reinforcing legality and lawfulness in the nation and at increasing the political and legal culture and awareness of the citizens.

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10272

CSO: 1806/23

AN ATTEMPT AT A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF AWARENESS OF LAW

Moscow SOTSIOLICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press
19 Apr 83) pp 121-126

[Article by Aleksandr Stepanovich Grechin, candidate of legal sciences, senior science associate at the Institute for Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, docent and specialist on the social problems of labor collectives. Author of the monograph "Pravovoye vospitaniye v protsesse deyatel'nosti mestnykh Sovetov" [Legal Indoctrination in the Process of Activities of Local Soviets] (1971). This is his first article to appear in our journal.]

[Text] Indoctrinating the citizens in a spirit of respect for the law, the broad dissemination of legal knowledge among the population and the forming of permanent legal convictions are an important area of the party's ideological work and an urgent task for the state bodies. In this major and complex matter it is hard to count on success without a consideration, and consequently, a study of the particular features of legal awareness in different social groups. For this, it is possible to utilize the testing method which is widespread in sociological practice. This is based upon the consistent use of questions (with a broad range of possible judgment answers) which the researcher asks the respondent (orally or by a questionnaire) in the aim of elucidating a certain latent characteristic.

In the course of the questioning the respondent analyzes the most diverse aspects of the proposed situation including those which cannot be directly studied. The latter in one way or another is reflected in the replies and this makes it possible to obtain information on the object, fact or phenomenon.¹

Below it will be a question of one such study.² Along with the basic problems (disclosing the typological characteristics of legal awareness, its content and

¹ The use of the testing procedure as, incidentally, any other method for obtaining data based on respondent replies, involves the danger of systematic errors and the identifying of opinions about facts with the facts themselves. At times such "confusions" are very substantial and this naturally must be considered in interpreting the obtained results.

² The research was conducted at Moscow industrial enterprises using a questionnaire or a standardized interview. A nonrepeating sampling was employed using the lists of the personnel departments. A total of 2,000 persons was questioned.

level, determining the role and significance of the standards of the law in the development of the social activeness of the workers and so forth), the task was set of testing the possibility of studying legal awareness using tests with incomplete sentences such as: "If I learned that materials (equipment) suitable for use in production were being written off as industrial wastes, then I would have..." or "If I had noticed that a shop salesperson was shorting the customers, then I would have..." and so forth. The respondent was to complete the sentence, having given the only possible, in his opinion, version of his conduct; here the anonymity of the person being questioned was guaranteed. The instructions emphasized that "there are neither correct nor incorrect answers, there are only various opinions which we would like to know."

We were primarily interested in the question of what sort of empirical information on the social-legal sets of an individual (and to a certain degree the collective as a whole) could be obtained from a content analysis of the mentioned "completions"? In particular, using such a test would it be possible to obtain information on the component elements of the social and legal sets? Did the designated procedure make it possible to obtain data on the content and level of development of legal awareness? From this information would it be possible to judge the development trend of legal awareness in the individual and collective? How did the empirical data obtained as a result of processing the tests of incomplete sentences conform to information obtained by other methods?

In making up the tests of incomplete sentences, we endeavored to describe situations which would be understandable to the persons being questioned. However, in processing the data it turned out that the proposed judgments causing the respondents to take the solely correct (in their opinion) decision possessed a varying degree of informativeness. Correspondingly, the "completions" also contained a varying amount of information on the individual's social and legal sets. We obtained the most complete and valuable information from the replies to those sentences which described situations as close as possible to the real conditions of the respondent's activities.

All the completion statements were systematized and unified into groups. Thus, for example, for the first sentence, completions were obtained which we grouped in the following manner (see Table 1).

In analyzing the replies contained in the table, we can judge the ability of the respondents to give a legal assessment of the fact described in the test, that is, on their ability to distinguish between a disciplinary infraction and a crime. In this regard the answers of the first two types must be viewed as a knowledge of the concrete provisions of the law by the respondents and all the others as the absence of such knowledge.

Another source of information on the cognitive elements of the sets is information as to what organization the person questioned would turn and what is its competence in the given situation. Thus, answers of the sort "I would go to the courts," shows a low level of legal knowledge on the part of the respondent.

Table 1
Results of Content Analysis of Respondent Statements

	% of Answers
"If I worked as a salesperson in a store and noticed that the director was trying to conceal a major embezzlement of money, then I would..."	
<i>Notify bodies which should prevent embezzlement</i>	61.3
--inform appropriate bodies (without their specific naming)	13.3
--inform the militia (OBKhSS) [Department for Combating Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation])	46.7
--inform superior organizations	1.3
<i>I would inform the law protection bodies, having first spoken with the director</i>	4.0
--I would inform, having pointed out the violation to the director	2.7
--I would caution the director, but would inform on what had happened	1.3
<i>I would inform incompetent (in the given instance) bodies (for example, the court)</i>	2.7
<i>I would point out the illegal actions to the store director</i>	2.7
<i>I would not undertake any measures</i>	18.3
--I would appear as if I knew nothing	15.0
--I would do nothing out of fear of dismissal	3.3
<i>An evasive answer</i>	5.7
--I would consult with the collective	0.7
--I would find out the reason and act accordingly	1.3
--I find it difficult to answer	3.7
<i>I would help the store director</i>	2.0
--help eliminate the shortage	0.7
--conceal the shortage	1.3
<i>Misunderstanding of the content and task of the test ("I would dismiss director" or "prevent him from handling money")</i>	1.3
<i>Other answers</i>	2.0

An analysis of the replies also makes it possible to conclude what the respondents' attitude is to the requirements of the legal standards (the affective component of the set). Here according to this criterion all the persons questioned can be divided into: those who actively condemned the violation of the law; persons who held an indifferent attitude toward the violators of socialist legality; persons siding with the actions of the violators of legal provisions. In the first group we would pose who in their replies voiced the intention to denounce the violation of the law (even those to the wrong bodies) or who completed the sentence by a judgment of the sort "I would point out the illegal actions to the store director." The second group was made up of respondents who voiced judgments of the sort "I would appear as if I knew nothing" or

"I would do nothing out of fear of dismissal." In this same group with a certain amount of arbitrariness one could also put those who generally refrained from answering or gave an answer of the sort "I find it difficult to answer" or "I do not know." Finally, in the third group we would include the respondents who completed the sentence by stating "I would conceal the shortage" or "I would help the director."

In addition to knowledge and judgment, the behavior component is an essential element in an individual's set toward any object or phenomenon. In the hierarchical structure of the components, this holds a leading place since precisely it determines how the individual's sets will be realized.

With the aid of the given test, it is impossible to determine the characteristics of the real illegal or law-abiding actions of individuals. For this reason the behavior component of social-legal sets can be brought out not directly but only indirectly, in resorting to a logical analysis and comparison of replies to various questions.

The tests put the respondent in a hypothetical situation, nevertheless his replies which are only a response to a violation of the law can in the given instance be viewed as a reflection of the individual's legal activeness, that is, as a manifestation of the behavior level of legal awareness.

The most widespread among the respondents was an active-positive and neutral attitude toward the legal standards while a certain portion of those questions showed an active negative set (see Table 2).

The individual's set toward the standards or legal institutions operates only as an aspect of the manifesting of his entire conscience. Only in analyzing a broad range of social and legal sets can one spot a certain line or an unique core in the legal awareness and social-legal conduct. This circumstance confronts the researcher with the problem of selecting the legal standards the attitude toward which would fully describe the content and development level of the individual's legal awareness.

The obtained data indicate that for the respondents of greatest significance are those standards which protect the interests of the individual, the life and health of the Soviet people and their dignity. Some 92.6 percent of the persons questioned condemned the embezzlement of personal property (theft), 80.6 condemned hooligan actions toward women and 76.7 percent the cheating of customers. At the same time, among those questioned there were persons indifferent or even on the side of the violators of legal standards and even more there were those ready to support and assist them. Thus, 18.6 percent of those questioned were tolerant of showing up at work in an inebriated state while 17.3 percent assumed a negative attitude toward the corresponding legal standard.

Of interest is an analysis of the views on the abuse of official status (the repairing of radios without making out an order and the pocketing of the money received for the repairs). Such instances were not properly viewed by many persons questioned. Only 4.7 percent of the respondents expressed a readiness to decisively combat such manifestations, while 49.3 knew about the existence

Table 2

Attitude of Respondents to Legal Standards, % of Total Number of Replies

Infraction	Legal standard providing sanction for given infraction (RSFSR penal code)	Attitude Toward Legal Standard			
		Active-positive	Neutral	Negative	Undetermined
Attempt by store director to conceal major embezzlement of funds	Article 92 Part 1	65.3	25.3	2.0	7.4
Insulting or disrespectful attitude toward women	Article 206 Part 1	85.3	5.3	--	9.4
Preparations to steal valuables from an apartment	Article 144	92.6	--	--	7.4
Minor embezzlement at enterprise	Article 96	16.6	78.6	3.3	1.5
Regular assault by neighbor on his wife	Article 113	76.0	20.0	--	4.0
Writing off usable materials as waste	Article 172	59.3	38.0	2.0	0.7
Appearance on the job in intoxicated state	(Article 128 of RSFSR Labor Code)	59.3	18.6	17.3	4.8
Refusal to pay alimony	Article 122	59.3	37.3	--	3.4
Repair of radio without order form and pocketing cost of repairs	Article 170	4.7	49.3	40.7	5.3
Short weighing of customers	Article 156	76.7	20.7	--	2.6
Overstating amount of work performed	Article 170	70.6	12.0	13.3	4.1
Extortion by salesperson of extra money for supplying scarce goods	Article 170	12.0	30.0	54.7	3.3
Extortion (in form of drinks) for providing easy work schedule	Article 170	2.0	77.3	14.0	6.7
Regular buying up and reselling of industrial goods to neighbors	Article 154	56.7	26.7	9.9	6.7
Influencing course of investigation in aim of helping comrade avoid criminal liability	Article 170	44.0	17.3	33.3	5.4

of the standards regulating payments from clients but took a tolerant attitude toward persons abusing their official position for the purpose of gain. Among 40.7 percent of the persons questioned such actions were supported.

The development of a negatively directed stereotype in awareness or conduct is the result of the action of a whole series of factors. Since we are interested in the integral behavior aspect of the problem, we would point out that as the research has shown, the inability of an individual to oppose instances of anti-social conduct with high moral ideals and values plays a major role in forming a negative social-legal set. Gradually a person gives way to the "pressure" of unfavorable circumstances and the vestiges of a Philistine morality, he begins to be indifferent to the violators of the law and in a number of instances sets out on a criminal path.

The results of comparing data on the respondents' sets on the protecting of state and personal property show flaws in the legal indoctrination of citizens. A large share of those questions did not give any particular significance to the minor embezzling of socialist property and mismanagement. At the same time virtually all the respondents held an active position when it was a question of infringing on personal property. All this shows the need to sharply strengthen work aimed at forming the conviction that socialist property is the basis for the well-being of each person. The habit of taking care of the people's property must be inculcated in people more actively.

An analysis of the empirical data obtained by using incomplete sentence tests makes it possible to draw one other very noteworthy conclusion. It turned out that persons with a positively directed activity in the sphere of realizing legal prescripts and combating all sorts of violations of socialist legality can be divided into two groups (in terms of the content and form of activity shown by them). Persons belonging in the first one expressed an intention to turn to the competent (in their opinion) organizations in the aim of thwarting instances of violating socialist legality. The second group was made up of individuals who feel it necessary to intervene directly into the situation in order to prevent the violation of the law (see Table 3).

The distribution of answers indicates that a "personal" response prevails in those instances when the crime or any other violation of legal standards is aimed against the individual's interests or even the state's interests but is subjectively perceived as a crime against the individual. Conversely, in those instances when the crimes and infractions are directed against the state and do not involve individual interests, the intention to turn to the competent (in the respondents' opinion) organizations prevails over the set of "personal" intervention. If the crime simultaneously touches the interests of both the state and the individual, but the individual is convinced that personal intervention into the situation will not produce the desired results, he prefers to turn to the law-protecting bodies (for example, in a question of speculation).

Although the differences in the sets are largely determined by the specific content of the illegal actions, in the given instance the basic differentiating factor is the level of the respondents' legal conscience. The reticence to turn to the law-protecting bodies for thwarting certain types of violations of

Table 3

Preferences of Methods to Combat Violations of Legal Standards,
 % of Total Number of Persons Questioned

Content of Situation	Respondent Reaction	
	Turning to Competent Bodies	Direct Intervention
Attempt of store director to conceal major embezzlement of money	62.6	2.7
Insult or disrespectful attitude toward women	9.3	76.0
Preparations for stealing valuables from an apartment	16.7	76.0
Regular assault by neighbor on his wife	30.7	45.3
Writing off usable materials as production wastes	59.3	--
Regular buying up and reselling of industrial goods to neighbors	46.7	10.0
Arising opportunity (through relative) to influence course of investigation in aim of helping comrade avoid criminal liability	--	44.0
Short weighing of customers	4.7	72.0
Overstating amount of work performed	59.3	11.3

the law and a desire to limit oneself to personal intervention (by commenting and so forth) are due to the fact that the given crime or infraction is not, in the opinion of the persons questioned, socially dangerous.. For example, 44.0 percent of the respondents stated an intention to personally halting the intervention of someone into the investigation of a criminal case, while none of them expressed a desire to turn to the law-protecting bodies. The underestimation of the danger of individual infractions of the law is a consequence primarily of the legal ignorance of the persons questioned.

It would be possible to continue the interpretation of the completion answers. However, the already done analysis persuades one that the incomplete sentence tests are capable of providing rather meaningful information on the legal awareness of an individual. Of course, before any test is recognized as completely valid (in particular the given one), it must be used repeatedly. However, we feel, even such a small-scale investigation shows the effectiveness of the method. The data obtained with the aid of the incomplete sentence tests can be used also for a more profound study of the social aspects of legal awareness.

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10272

CSO: 1806/23

THE ATTITUDE TOWARD LABOR AND THE DISCIPLINE OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

Moscow SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press
19 Apr 83) pp 129-132

[Article by Edik Andranikovich Kyuregyan, candidate of philosophical sciences and docent on the Chair of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy at the Yerevan Polytechnical Institute imeni K. Marx. A specialist on the problems of labor sociology. In our journal, he has published the article "Public Opinion of the Collective and Production Discipline in Youth" (No 2, 1979 as co-author).]

[Text] The effectiveness and quality of labor activities are determined by two groups of factors. The first includes the technical and organizational conditions of production, the availability of machinery and equipment, the steadiness of the production cycle, the organization of labor and other characteristics which can be termed "external" in relation to the worker's activities. The second group of factors brings together the parameters of the motivational or "internal" aspect of labor, the understanding of its social significance, involvement in production management, value orientations and so forth. The determining role in strengthening labor discipline is played primarily by the organization of production, however, an important one is also played here by the subjective factors which are shaped under the impact of the collective's indoctrinal work.

According to the data of our research,¹ 69.1 percent of the workers fully handled their production assignments while 26.4 percent of them overfulfilled them. Here one out of two produced only high-quality products, while 71 percent of the persons questioned did not have infractions of labor discipline. These are the general indicators for production activity showing that in the surveyed collective there is a significant number of workers who lag behind both in terms of the quality of the produced product and in terms of labor discipline. Thus, 4.6 percent do not fulfill the plan quotas while 44.4 percent produce low-quality products. This situation is not exceptional and characteristic solely for the surveyed enterprises. The given indicators are largely typical for the industrial sectors of the national economy.

¹ The research was conducted at ten industrial enterprises in the city of Yerevan in 1979-1981. Around 4,000 workers were questioned. The sampling is representative for enterprise collectives.

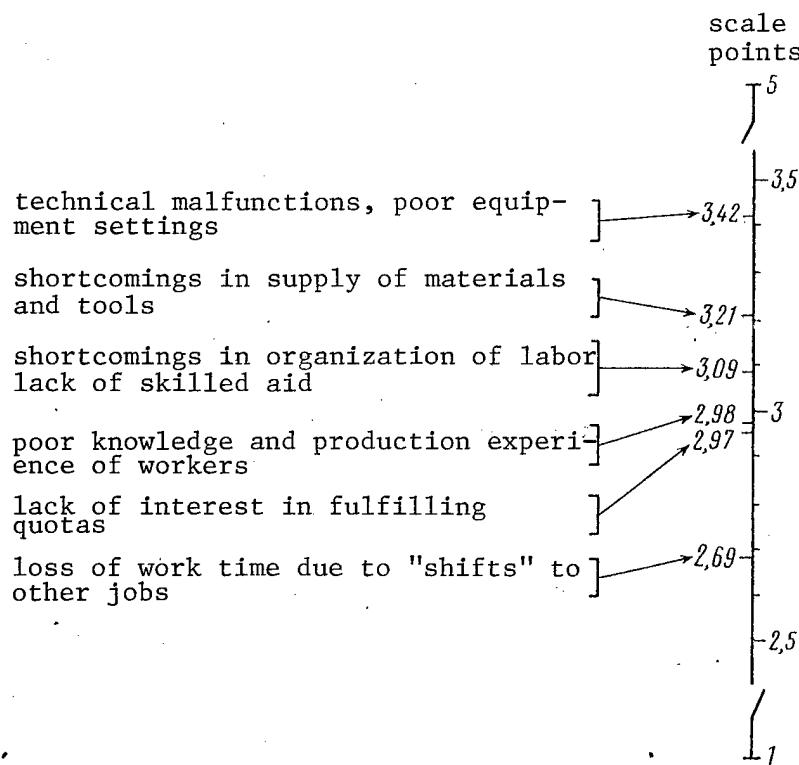


Fig. 1. Ranking by persons questioned of reasons for violating of production discipline, points of a 5-point scale.

What are the reasons for the existing violations of production discipline? In the course of the research it was established that in the opinion of the persons questioned, the weightiest reasons for interruptions in the production mechanism are to be found in the malfunctioning of equipment and shortcomings in the supply of materials and tools (see Fig. 1). The opinion of the persons questioned was rather constant in that the main prerequisite for steady, effective work was the proper organization of the production cycle, the readiness of the machines, tools and materials, while the personal characteristics of the worker were, so to speak, derivative. There is a grain of truth in this. Often industrial enterprises continue to produce products in using obsolete and worn-out equipment and interruptions in the delivery of raw products and materials by cooperating enterprises are in no way an exception. Certainly these factors can, in turn, be caused by the slipshod work of repairmen, technicians and engineers. However, in first place are not the personal but rather the technical and production problems, although the role of the former must not be underestimated. The political indoctrination aimed at developing an awareness of social duty in the workers as well as conscientiousness and activity in labor should in every possible way be based upon an improvement in the production conditions and a strengthening of production discipline.

The fulfillment of production indicators depends largely upon worker skill level and his length of employment. While among the workers of the first and second categories some 21.9 percent overfulfilled the quotas, the figure among those

having the fifth or sixth category is 34.4 percent. The work quality indicators are analogous: 57.5 percent of the respondents in the fifth and sixth categories produced only high-quality products; among those having the first or second categories the figure is 12.6 percent less. As for the length of employment, 54.9 percent of the persons who have worked for more than 10 years at the enterprise produce only high-quality products. Among persons this indicator is 43.8 percent. At the same time, this relationship must not be interpreted too categorically as 10.9 percent of the workers with long employment frequently permit bad workmanship.

Production discipline is closely tied to the observance of labor regulations. Prompt arrival and departure from the job and the observance of the internal schedule at the enterprise are major prerequisites for its steady operations. In contrast to production discipline, labor discipline to a greater degree is subordinate to the influence of personal characteristics. The worker's attitude to the assigned job depends primarily upon his conscientiousness, attentiveness and industriousness. The only "objective" reason for tardiness is the undependable operation of municipal transport (see Fig. 2).

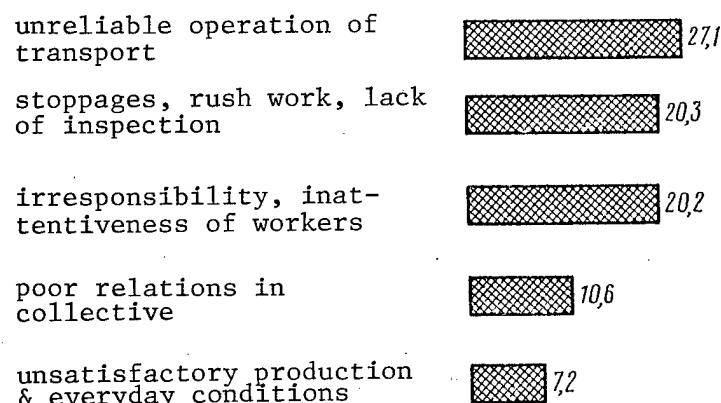


Fig. 2. Distribution of worker opinions on reasons for violations of labor discipline (tardiness, absences without leave, refusals to fulfill quota), %

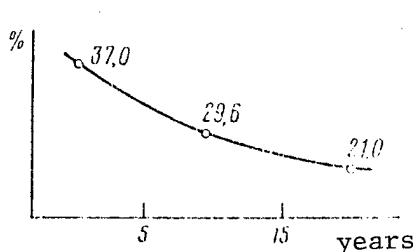


Fig. 3. Dependence between number of violators of labor discipline and the time of their residence in Yerevan

Along with the internal production factors, the strengthening of worker discipline is also influenced by external particular features in their way of life. Thus, research disclosed a linkage between the number of years lived in Yerevan and violations of discipline (see Fig. 3). Workers who have lived under the conditions of a large city for a comparatively short period of time and have not been able to adapt to the new way of life commit almost 2-fold more violations than the natives. Primarily these are those who migrated from the rural regions of the republic. The migrants' behavior features stemming from the nature of

rural labor leave their imprint on their attitude toward observing a strictly regulated production process and on the proper care of machinery and equipment. Frequently there are also difficulties in the course of their adaptation in the collectives. It is no accident that 17.4 percent of the workers who lived under 6 years in Yerevan desired to leave the enterprise. The solving of the given problem requires not only the use of administrative measures to strengthen discipline but also a differentiated approach in political indoctrination with the various worker categories.

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10272

CSO: 1806/23

MOTIVATIONAL STRUCTURE IN JUVENILE GROUP OFFENSES

Moscow SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press
19 Apr 83) pp 132-135

[Article by Valeriy Ivanovich Litvinov, candidate of legal sciences, police lieutenant colonel and deputy section chief of the Academy of the USSR NVD. He is being published for the first time in our journal.]

[Text] Antisocial conduct on the part of juveniles has specific motives and aims determined, as a rule, by the influence of informal social groups. As was pointed out V. G. Alekseyeva, "more than 90 percent of the school pupils and students of the PTU [vocational-technical school] consider themselves as belonging to relatively stable informal groups ('gangs') in which they spend a significant portion of their free time. A majority of the groups consists of 4-6 persons" [1, pp 61-62]. For this reason, it is no accident that many offenses by juveniles are of a group sort.

The object of our research was group thefts, robberies, assaults as well as other juvenile offenses. The control group was comprised of juveniles who had committed thefts of state, public and private property, robberies, attacks and other antisocial actions alone.

If one examines the articles of group thefts, robberies and attacks by juveniles, then the following picture is disclosed making it possible to draw certain conclusions on the nature and direction of group motivation (Fig. 1).

First of all we would note the greatest discrepancies between group and individual theft. The groups were oriented primarily at high fashion, "brand name" clothing, musical instruments, radio equipment and money. Characteristic of the individual is an orientation toward food products, including sweets. Without going in detail into an analysis of this fact, we would point out that the motivation for juvenile individual criminals differs qualitatively from the orientation of group offenders. Among the latter, as the research indicates, a large role is played by "spiritual" factors related obviously to the particular features of interpersonal integration among the juveniles in the group. In actuality, music, records and "brand name" articles are characteristic attributes in the lifestyle of a certain portion of the youth and which is marginal in relation to illegal conduct. In this sense the individual offenders are more utilitarian in their criminal motives. This makes it possible to draw the conclusion (requiring further testing) that material sufficiency (all

the offenders investigated lived in families and had the where-with-all for existence) has a definite effect on shaping the motivation for participants in group crimes and to a significant degree was determined by the sets, needs and standards of the informal group.

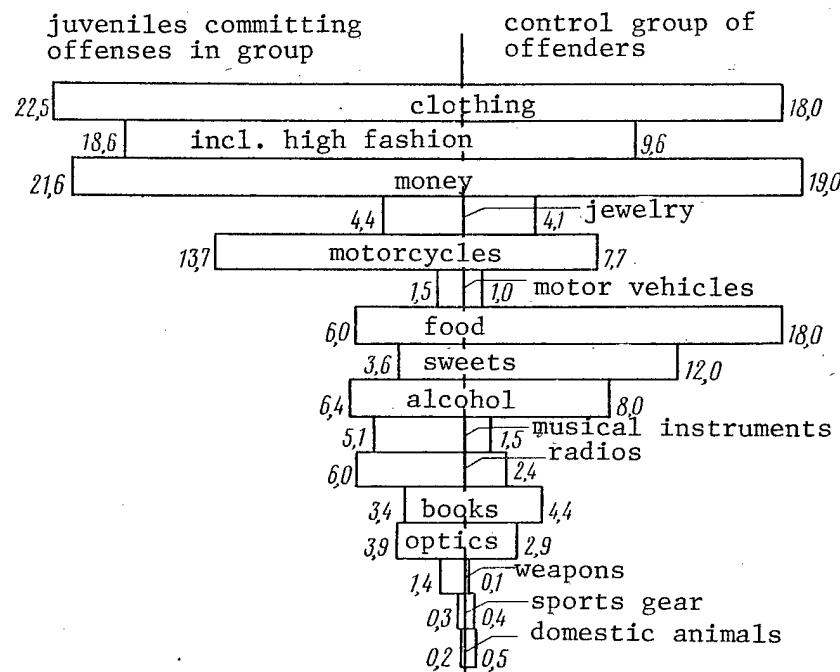


Fig. 1. Articles sought by juvenile offenders

As for the method of committing the group thefts, in 32.1 percent of the cases the juveniles entered through a window, in 15.7 percent of the cases they picked the locks, in 24 percent of the cases they knocked out doors, ripped out locks, broke windows and so forth and in 7.5 percent of the cases destroyed the roof, ceiling or walls. An analysis of the research data makes it possible to conclude that the methods of juvenile group thefts are not marked by excessive refinement and in many instances involve insufficient securing of property.

In contrast to theft, with group robberies and assaults by juveniles, the most frequently stolen articles are money, apparel, furs and timepieces.¹ Here again one can see the particular features of the juvenile group orientations: high fashion "brand name" articles and objects of "surprise" interest to juveniles such as pens, lighters, various souvenir articles and so forth. We would point out that in committing such offenses, instances are possible where the juveniles take a thing not to use it later, but rather out of a motive to

¹ According to the data of Yu. Galinaytite, juveniles in robberies and assaults took money in 52 percent of the cases; clothing in 26 percent; timepieces in 14 percent; wine and liquor in 7.7 percent [2].

demonstrate one's superiority over the victims and to prove oneself in the eyes of the other group members. But in the committing of analogous crimes by adults, the intention is primarily to take as valuable articles as possible.

According to the research data, in 69 percent of the cases, these types of offenses were committed by juvenile groups using violence including threats, assault, and striking, in 16 percent of the cases there were "rip-offs" (the grabbing of hats, the ripping off of fur collars, the grabbing of articles out of others' hands); in 9 percent weapons were used and the victim suffered injury.

In order to obtain a more detailed understanding of the aims of juvenile group illegal actions, we analyzed not only the articles taken but also the explanations and testimony of the guilty parties. We obtained the following data on the motives and goals of mercenary offenses (see Fig. 2).

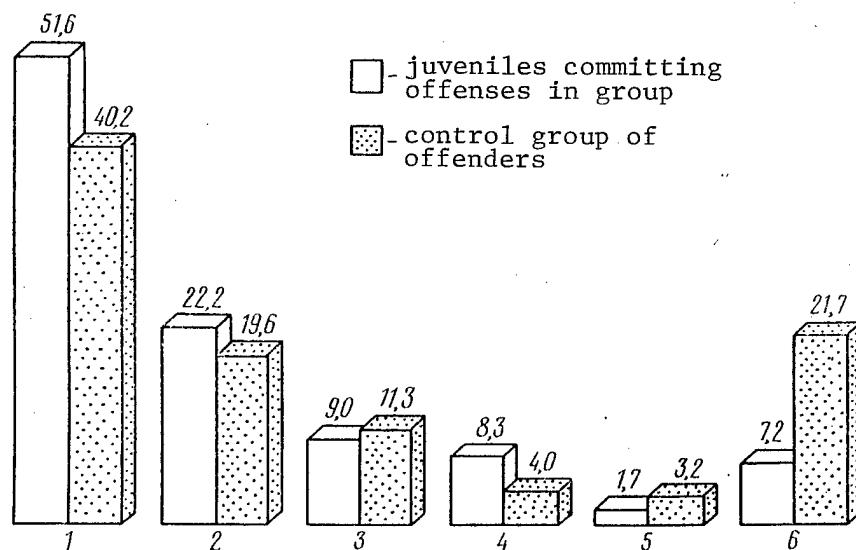


Fig. 2. Aims of thefts in investigated and control groups of juvenile offenders: 1) to have alcoholic beverages or to get money for purchasing them; 2) to have fashionable clothing; 3) to have food products or the money for purchasing them; 4) to get money or valuable articles for leisure; 5) to help close friends; 6) to have money for other purposes

There is no need to analyze the given data in detail. Let us merely take up a deciphering of the aim put into a separate group of "having money for other needs." This included cases of offenses related to unanticipated material difficulties of the juveniles. It should be pointed out that virtually all such cases were caused by the conduct of the guilty person himself, that is, they were the result of his incorrect conduct (for example, having spent his money for alcohol or amusement and fearing parental punishment, the juveniles resorted to a crime). Particularly high was the percentage of offenses committed in the aim of obtaining alcohol or a desire to get money for purchasing it. An analysis showed that basically this motivation was formed on the basis of instigation by adults or older youths. Our research completely confirmed the

conclusion of V. G. Alekseyeva that here the predominant role is played by the personal qualities of the informal leader and "it is not accidental that in a number of juvenile groups the activities of which had to be stopped by police bodies the leadership role was filled by significantly older persons with already developed characters and usually strong willed" [1].

Of particular significance in preventing illegal behavior is a study of juvenile alcoholic beverage consumption. In particular it was discovered that in 30 percent of the cases there was no reason to consume alcohol; in 13 percent of the cases a holiday was being celebrated; in 11 percent the receiving of a scholarship, in 5 percent farewells into the army, 15 for a day off, 8 percent for attending dances and in 1 percent of the cases the juveniles drank for "for bravery" before committing an offense. Here a major role is also played by the desire to show one's "maturity" and independence and to win the approval of the "leaders."

As was already pointed out, in the motivational structure a significant place was held by a desire for "brand name" things. As was shown by G. S. Batygin [3], this fulfills a certain integrating function in group behavior, comprising a component of the so-called "we stereotypes." For example, jeans symbolize a clearly outlined style of behavior and are frequently correlated with a "deviant" syndrome of sociopsychological characteristics.

Research on the motivational goal sphere of juvenile group offenses makes it possible to more fully describe not only their personal features but also the range of factors forming motivation, that is: a bad family atmosphere, selfish consumer aims of persons around the juvenile, a lack of supervision and lack of punishment. A sociological study of the illegal conduct of juveniles is an essential prerequisite for working out practical methods for its prevention and for increasing the effectiveness of the indoctrinal system. One of the cardinal means for preventing juvenile offenses generally and mercenary crimes in particular, in our view, the broad involvement of juveniles in socially useful labor as mailmen, service sphere employees and so forth. This question has already been taken upon the pages of SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA [5]. We would definitely like to support the viewpoint of G. A. Aliyev voiced by him at the All-Union Practical Scientific Conference in Baku (1979): in being involved in a necessary undertaking in the national economy, the juveniles, in the first place, feel that their labor is actually useful and, secondly, even though not for long, they do learn what work is all about. Thirdly, they obtain a lesson in a respectful attitude toward the earned ruble [4, p 35].

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10272

CSO: 1806/23

ON THE METHODOLOGY OF STUDYING THE SOCIAL DIFFERENCES OF CITY AND COUNTRYSIDE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press
19 Apr 83) pp 136-140

[Article by Nariman Abdurakhmanovich Aitov and Rashit Brukhanovich Kamayev. The authors are co-workers from the chair of scientific communism at the Ufa Aviation Institute. N. A. Aitov is a doctor of philosophical sciences, professor and chair head, a specialist in the area of the social structure of Soviet society and the control of social processes and the author of over 180 scientific works, including the monographs "Medotika planirovaniya sotsial'nogo razvitiya goroda" [Planning Methods for the Social Development of a City] (1973, in co-authorship), "Tekhnicheskiy progress i dvizheniya rabochikh kadrov" [Technical Progress and the Movement of Worker Personnel] (1972), "NTR i sotsial'noye planirovaniye" [The Scientific-Technical Revolution and Social Planning] (1978), "Gorod. Naseleniye. Trudovyye resursy" [The City. Population. Labor Resources] (1980, in co-authorship), "Sovetskiy rabochiy" [Soviet Worker] (1981) and "Sotsial'noye proyektirovaniye" [Social Planning] (1982); our journal has published a number of his articles, in particular "Studying the Structure of the Working Class in an Industrial Center" (No 1, 1975), "On Certain Debated Problems in Studying the Soviet Intelligentsia" (No 3, 1979) and "On Further Improving Social Planning and Management" (No 1, 1981). R. B. Kamayev is a candidate of philosophical sciences, a docent and specialist on the problems of social planning and administration in the countryside; he has published more than 40 works, including the monograph "Sotsial'noye planirovaniye v kolkhoze" [Social Planning on the Kolkhoz] (1972); our journal is publishing him for the first time.]

[Text] The surmounting of the essential differences between city and countryside is the result of the social development in the given types of settlements. In the literature, rural social progress has frequently been reduced to the overcoming of the differences of the countryside from the city. At the same time, in the countryside the same processes occur which are characteristic for the city: the obliterating of the essential differences between mental and physical labor, the converting of labor into a prime vital necessity, the all-round development of the individual and so forth. Of course, it is possible and necessary to speak about a certain lag in the countryside behind the city in the intensity of the social processes. However, the elimination of this lag should not be conceived of as a process where the countryside develops more rapidly than the city for all indicators and as a result catches up with it.

Such an approach suffers from at least two failings. In the first place, in one way or another one overlooks the question of the qualitative change in the countryside as it merely "catches up" with the city while continuing to remain the countryside. The "city--countryside" dichotomy, thus, is eternalized. Secondly, the socialist city in which are concentrated the working class, industry and science, in our opinion, in principle cannot develop more slowly than the countryside for a majority of parameters. Certainly agricultural efficiency is ultimately determined by the level of industrial production and science. Of course, the dividing into kolkhoz members and industrial workers does not coincide with the dividing into city and countryside, but still kolkhoz members are basically concentrated in the countryside and the workers predominantly in the city.

The practice of socialist construction has shown that progress in the countryside has occurred more rapidly only for individual indicators. Thus, from 1940 through 1980, the real income of the kolkhoz members increased by 6.9-fold while for manual and white collar workers by 4-fold [3, p 380]. In the countryside, at present consumer services are developing at a more rapid pace than in the city. In 1980, in comparison with 1965, the volume of consumer services rendered to the rural population rose by 9-fold, while as a whole for the nation by only 5-fold [3, p 449]. The number of apartments with central gas supply in the urban settlements increased by 3.7-fold from 1965 through 1980 and by 26.8-fold in rural localities [3, p 396]. As we can see, it is a question of those aspects of life where the rural lag has been excessively great and harmed all society, primarily weakening the stability of the rural population. This told negatively on the production of food products and raw materials for industry. But if we take the other parameters, for example, the growth of labor productivity, the supply of housing and cultural consumption, recently the differences for these indicators have even increased between the city and countryside. In 1970, labor productivity in Soviet agriculture was 65 percent of the corresponding indicator in industry [4, p 51] while in 1980 it was 51 percent [4, p 42--our calculation]. As a whole the lag of the countryside behind the city has been constantly increasing although with the approval of the USSR Food Program new favorable prerequisites are being created for accelerated progress in the countryside [2].

In our opinion, the surmounting of the essential differences between city and countryside should more correctly be perceived as a process of the fundamental transformation of the countryside and the growing of the rural way of life into an urban one as a result of which the "city--countryside" dichotomy itself disappears. Here it is assumed that the presently existing more rapid development rates of the city will remain for a majority of the areas. What has been said becomes clearer if we endeavor to find an answer to the question of whether the qualitative change in the countryside is an "autonomous" trend or is it the result of the action of different processes?

Rather frequently (particularly among economists) the opinion is voiced that under present-day conditions the differences of the city from the countryside ultimately come down to the fact that the rural population is engaged predominantly in agriculture where the technical and economic level is lower in comparison with that of industry. From this viewpoint the main way of resolving the mentioned problem is to turn agricultural labor into a variety of industrial

labor. Undoubtedly, the latter aspect is extremely important. However, here it is essential to consider the following circumstance. In 1940, agriculture employed 80 percent of the rural population, 66 percent in 1965 and 55 percent in 1978 [5, our calculation]. Even in the near future, agricultural production will cease to be the basic sphere of activity for rural inhabitants. Moreover, regardless of the reduced share of workers in agricultural jobs, the lag of the countryside will continue to remain. Finally, the difference of the city from the countryside does not come down merely to social distinctions in the content of labor but rather more to the technical and economic aspects of agricultural production. As was rightly emphasized by M. N. Mezhevich, "the difference between city and countryside more than ever is ceasing to be the result of the dividing of labor itself into agricultural and industrial. The settlement aspect per se is increasing in it" [6]. In representing one of the types of social relations, settlement relations are a product of the action of the most diverse factors including: economic, social, geographic and so forth. For instance, a village of 100 households, even with maximum amenities and a high production level, cannot provide a person with what he would receive from a cultural and industrial center as a city. A great deal depends upon whether the person lives in a large settlement, a rayon center, a kolkhoz center, sovkhoz or at a remote farmstead where there is no store, medical station and club.

Already from what has been said one can see that the countryside, in remaining the countryside, will never catch up with the city in this regard and that each of the types of settlements, in addition to common social functions should also perform its own ones inherent to it alone. Consequently, the task of merging the countryside with the city consists in turning the rural way of life into an urban one based on a unified settlement system. V. I. Lenin wrote that in the given context socialism leads to the creation of the "new settlement of mankind (with the elimination of both the rural desertion, isolation from the world and solitude as well as the unnatural accumulation of gigantic masses in large cities)" [1]. Precisely with the formation of such a settlement system and with the ensuring of a developed system of transport and communications between city and countryside, the inhabitants of the latter can utilize all the advantages and riches of the city. Quite understandably in the villages, as a rule, there is no necessity to establish conservatories, universities or fine arts museums. All of this is characteristic not even for all urban settlements. However, such social goods should be available to the rural inhabitants. What has been said is confirmed by the data of extensive research. Thus, in the villages of Kostroma Oblast which have a convenient and continuous connection to the local center and city, the potential migration is 80 percent lower than in peripheral villages that are cut off from transport arteries [7].

We feel that the surmounting of the essential differences between city and countryside is a consequence of a whole range of socioeconomic processes. Among the most important of these are: the turning of agricultural labor into a variety of industrial; the integrating of the two forms of socialist ownership of the means of production; the improving of rural domestic conditions, the further rationalization (considering local conditions) of rural settlement, bringing the rural social structure closer to the urban social structure (an increased number of workers, particularly industrial; an increased share of

intelligentsia and nonspecialist white collar personnel; reducing the share of kolkhoz members; the ever-greater increase of the group of workers of the interfarm organizations which is the intermediate between the workers and kolkhoz members and so forth); increasing the level of the spiritual needs of the rural population as a result of achieving universal secondary education and developing the mass communications media; increasing the improving the road network, the means of transportation and communications so that the rural inhabitants could make maximum use of the city's cultural potential.

Each of these processes has its particular features and forms of interaction with the others. Thus, the converting of agricultural labor into a variety of industrial is inconceivable without eliminating the differences between the two forms of property. A change in the social structure of the countryside is determined not only by the two mentioned factors but also by back-and-forth migration. The improved domestic conditions depend primarily upon production development and are virtually not related to a change in spiritual needs. At the same time, the growth of the latter without fail requires the incorporating of the countryside in the unified settlement system for if people with high cultural needs are unable to utilize cultural goods on a daily basis, they will sooner move into the city where there are still more such opportunities.

One of the complex problems of controlling social processes is an elucidation of their quantitative characteristics. In the existing system of planning indicators, a predominant majority of them relates to the economic sphere and this greatly impedes an accurate fixing of the social consequences from administrative decisions. In determining the effectiveness of social measures a "more or less" approach, as a rule, is unsuitable. By adding up labor productivity, the consumption level and other similar indicators it is impossible to tell to what degree the countryside has moved "closer" to the city over a given five-year plan. The corresponding indicators should quantitatively reflect the processes which cannot be reduced to one another. In the given context we would point to two circumstances. In the first place, the elimination of the essential differences between city and countryside in no way presupposes that the countryside and agriculture should be in a "privileged" position and their development cannot be planned for a maximum, to the detriment, for instance, of industry. At present, the migration balance between city and countryside is in favor of the city by almost 2 million persons annually. All of this to a significant degree is a consequence of the socioeconomic differences between city and countryside.

An artificial forced elimination of these differences can contribute to an increased imbalance in the labor force and this will tell negatively both in industrial and agricultural production.

Secondly, it is not advantageous for society to "conserve" the differences between city and countryside. To a significant degree precisely the low rates of overcoming these have brought about a sharp reduction in the size of the rural population in the Nonchernozem area and a slowdown in its social development. The manpower shortage in the countryside is also reflected in the city in the form of interruptions in the supply of various food products for the city dwellers.

In determining the quantitative priorities, it is essential to proceed from the common national interests of all the people. Naturally, it is essential to remember that these interests in a condensed form reflect the needs of the various social groups in society, including the urban and rural population. In our opinion, in solving the problem it is essential to focus on the question of optimizing the consequences of the existing differences between city and countryside. The migration of the population from the countryside to the city is the basic such consequence. Obviously effective socioeconomic levers should be found for its more optimum regulation. In particular, the manpower loss must be compensated for by supplying the countryside with equipment and production facilities (considering the expanded production). Certainly agriculture is not harmed by the migration per se, but rather the related decline in the production level. Precisely proceeding from the existing and desired intensity in the movement of the population, indicators should be introduced which would quantitatively describe the elimination of differences between city and countryside.

Another important problem in controlling social processes is the selection of methods. A particular feature of social control is that it is predominantly indirect. For example, it is impossible to directly plan socioclass or nationality relations, but it is possible and necessary to determine the conditions whereby these relations would develop in a direction desirable for all society.

It is a question primarily of economic and organizational conditions, that is: specialization and concentration of agricultural production, improved use of equipment, the consolidating of population points and the granting of benefits to agricultural specialists and equipment operators as is provided, incidentally by the decisions of the May (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. The second is to create the material prerequisites for changing the social processes. In the given instance the determining role is played by capital investments into agriculture, road construction, transportation, the development of the sociodomestic infrastructure in the countryside and other spheres related to rural social development. For now it is possible to use as indicators for the social effect from the conducted measures the indices for the reduced level of worker morbidity, personnel turnover, the strengthening of labor discipline and so forth, to put it briefly, results which in one way or another could be converted into rubles and end up with a certain economic result. The listed parameters are important for describing social development, however, the social tasks are not exhausted by them.

The next important element is the organizational and administrative factors. Here the basic area is to improve the organizational work of the party, soviet and economic bodies and broaden the responsibility and interest of the administrative bodies in fulfilling the social development plans.

Finally, ideological indoctrination, the shaping of the population's public opinion and its increased awareness and activeness play an essential role in obliterating the socioeconomic differences between city and countryside.

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10272

CSO: 1806/23

ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEWORK IN THE FAMILY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press
19 Apr 83) pp 140-142

[Article by Marina Yur'yevna Arutyunyan, graduate student at the Institute for Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences. This is the first time she appears in our journal.]

[Text] One of the basic goals of the research conducted in Krasnodar by the Family Section of the Institute for Sociological Research under the USSR Academy of Sciences (1981) was to establish the nature of relations which are conditionally designated "work--house" and ascertain the basic reasons why these two major spheres of human activity frequently come into conflict.¹

At present, a woman not only (and sometimes not so much) wants to work but is also forced to do this. The process obviously is an irreversible one out of reasons of an economic and also psychological nature. Certainly among the primary factors is the task of the greatest possible easing of the work of a working woman and mother, that is, adapting the "work" to the "house." All the more imperative is the need to adapt the "house" to the "work."

One of the indicators for the processes occurring in the "home" is the comparatively early established feature of the distribution of the housework in a family.

We derived two basic types of housework distribution between spouses. The first which is conditionally called "predominantly egalitarian," includes those families where there is a rigid, traditionally understood division of household duties into "male" and "female" and where a more or less even distribution between the spouses is observed in the total amount of housework. Characteristic for such families was the following point: the reasons for the nonparticipation of the husband in one or another type of housework never included such

¹ The research was carried out under an international program the aim of which was to ascertain the characteristic changes in the family in European countries. Some 150 persons were interviewed, 75 men and 75 women. Among those questioned were 53.3 percent workers, 15.7 percent white collar personnel and 32 percent specialists having a higher education.

Table

Satisfaction with Distribution of Housework in Family
Depending Upon Social Status, % of Total Persons Questioned

Type of Division of Labor	Workers		White Collar Personnel		High Skilled Specialists		Total
	a	b	a	b	a	b	
Predominantly traditional	19.3	7.4	5.3	4.7	7.0	7.6	51.3
Predominantly egalitarian	24.1	2.6	4.6	0	14.7	2.7	48.7
Total		53.4		14.6		32.0	100.0

Key: a--Satisfied; b--Dissatisfied

statements as "this is not a man's work" or "it is my duty (the duty of the husband) to bring home the salary," and so forth. In the second type which we designated as "predominantly traditional," were families in which housework was strictly divided into "male" and "female," with the woman shouldering the basic portion of the duties. As a total in accord with the type of housework distribution there were 77 "traditional" marriages and 73 "egalitarian" ones. Among men and women there was a different view of the organization of their everyday life within the same type of housework distribution. While men somewhat more liked traditional marriages (94 to 80 percent), among the women 2.5-fold more preferred the egalitarian type (39 to 100 percent).

Differences were also discovered in the satisfaction with the distribution of housework depending upon the belonging to one or another socioprofessional group. Among the higher skilled specialists the gap between the levels of satisfaction with the existing division of household duties was higher than among workers and white collar personnel (see the table). This, in our view, shows the greater "subjective" egalitarianism of the given group.

Regardless of the fact that the satisfaction with the egalitarian division of labor as a whole was higher, it would scarcely be valid to speak about its unconditional preference over the "traditional" type. In comparing the psychological acceptability of one or another type of family, we must not ignore the actual family characteristics such as the number and age of the children, the length of the marriage and so forth.

The attempt to find a latent factor which would at least partially describe such characteristics led us to use the concept of stages in the family cycle.

The respondents were divided into three groups: those having children under the age of 6, with a young child 6-16 years of age and with adult children. In the first group, the basic contingent consisted of persons under the age of 30 and approximately one-half of the families here had one child. In the second group were spouses who had been married over 9 years and had two

children; in the third, elderly spouses (in more than 50 percent of the instances the children did not live with the parents at the given moment). Such a division helps consider the age features of the family with its other most essential characteristics, proceeding primarily from those tasks which families with young-aged children encounter.

According to the data of our research, the lowest degree of satisfaction with the type of distribution of household obligations adopted in the family was observed in the second age² group, and this applied both to the traditional and egalitarian marriages. In the first case, such a picture arose out of the lower satisfaction of the women in comparison with the other groups and, in the second, on the contrary, due to the lower satisfaction of the men. Characteristically the gap between the "confidence levels" in the traditional and egalitarian families in the second cycle was 3-fold greater than the analogous average indicator in the remaining groups. Here the influence of everyday life on the emotional atmosphere is much more apparent as is the direct link with the satisfaction with the division of labor in the family and the attitude toward the spouse.

The discovered trends are comparable with the inverse dependences between the number of children and the psychological climate in the family as disclosed in the course of certain research. Finally, one other observation. As questioning indicated, traditional and egalitarian families differ also over the views about having children. In those families where a traditional division of housework prevails, discrepancies between the planned and actual number of children are encountered almost 2-fold more frequently.

In conclusion, let us endeavor to formulate suppositions which probably will be confirmed in the course of further research. 1. The general "egalitarianization" of family life is becoming evermore widespread. From this viewpoint, a rigid structure for the traditional division of family roles is not promising. 2. The restructuring of family life toward domestic equality includes psychological resistance from a larger portion of the men and a certain group of women who view the family activities of the husband as more significant for the interests of the family in comparison with their own. 3. Dissatisfaction with the organization of the household among the representatives of different socio-professional categories as well as families in different stages of the family cycle involves a dissatisfaction with the marital partner and to the degree that the first indicator as a whole is higher in the traditional type families, this type can be considered more "conflict-producing." The woman is more often the generator of dissatisfaction in a traditional marriage. 4. A link between the dissatisfaction with the organization with the household in the family and conflict (or potentially conflict) relations between the spouses is particularly characteristic for families in the intermediate stage of the family cycle

² We term the groupings of persons questioned according to the stages of the family cycle as "age" ones only arbitrarily, for the convenience of description, referring to the tie which exists between the stage of the family cycle and the age of the spouses as well as the length of the marriage.

(the basic composition of this group is families with two under-age children); here traditional marriages can be the least good. 5. The traditional type of the distribution of housework has a negative effect upon the family's first idea of having children.

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10272

CSO: 1806/23

THE CONTRIBUTION OF SOCIOLOGISTS TO THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF
AN INDUSTRIAL REGION

Moscow SOTSIOLICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press
19 Apr 83) pp 168-170

[Unattributed report on a roundtable meeting held by this journal]

[Text] How is it possible to ensure the effective involvement of sociologists working in various departments and scientific institutions in the intensive economic and social development of the Urals, one of the major industrial regions in our nation? This subject was discussed at a roundtable session held by the journal SOTSIOLICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in November 1982, in Perm, where, as we have already stated (No 1, 1983) the Fourth Urals Sociological Lectures were held.

The deputy editor-in-chief of the journal Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, Prof F. R. Filippov opened the session, pointing out that in the Urals and particularly in such major industrial cities as Sverdlovsk, Perm, Ufa, Chelyabinsk, Nizhniy Tagil and Izhevsk there are significant forces of sociologists, much important research has been done and this is widely known not only in our nation but also abroad. At present, when the creative energy of the Soviet workers is focused on carrying out the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, at realizing the quotas of the five-year plan and carrying out the USSR Food Program, there has been a particular rise in the role of the social reserves for the growth of labor productivity and for the organic linkage of Soviet society's economic and social development. In the scientific support for carrying out the party's plans, much depends upon the sociologists. The journal SOTSIOLICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA is endeavoring to present on its pages not only the advanced experience of sociological research but also the practical employment of its results in social planning and management. This is why the opinions of the roundtable participants are of great interest for the editors.

The secretary of the Perm CPSU obkom I. P. Bykova pointed to the importance of the November (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee for carrying out the tasks of Soviet society's social development. She said that the oblast's sociologists, and in particular those from the Perm Polytechnical Institute and the telephone plant, had made a noticeable contribution to improving the work of the oblast party organization and the labor collectives. At the same time, I. P. Bykova drew attention to the fact that the sociological services were still little oriented at overcoming the arising difficulties and solving concrete

social problems. One should not fear criticism of shortcomings but this criticism should be aimed at improving their creative activeness in carrying out the tasks confronting our society.

The chairman of the board of the Urals Section of the Soviet Sociological Association [SSA], Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, Prof L. N. Kogan emphasized that the journal SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA on its pages is still unevenly treating the work of the Urals sociologists. Sverdlovsk and Ufa authors appear more frequently than others while specialists from Kurgan, Chelyabinsk and Orenburg are virtually not published by the editors, although they do have something to say to the national reader. For example, in Kurgan there is interesting materials on social planning in agriculture, in Chelyabinsk on the problems of labor sociology and so forth.

The head of the Philosophy Chair at the Urals Scientific Center of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, Prof O. N. Zhemanov drew attention to the circumstance that sociological research must disclose not only the general traits in social planning and social development but also the specific ones for a given region. Unfortunately, the appeal voiced some time ago in the journal SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA for the development of regional sociology has as yet been very little carried out. The Urals scientists, in particular, are not working enough on the regional aspects of social policy.

The head of the Chair of Scientific Communism at the Perm Polytechnical Institute, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, Prof Z. I. Faynburg emphasized the need to formulate the demands to be put on sociological research of a regional nature even before the start of field work. Otherwise, the research would be carried out in a way which would simply not allow the giving of serious practical recommendations while the obtained results would provide an opportunity for ambiguous interpretations. It is essential to better organize the exchange of experience between sociologists working at the enterprises and to more thoroughly analyze the information acquired over many years. The institute's sociological laboratory has assembled interesting data and interregional comparative research has been carried out on the North and the inhabited regions of the nation. The use of these materials has helped to resolve certain personnel problems at the Norilsk complex. It would be a good thing, said Z. I. Faynburg, in conclusion, if the journal SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA would publish more articles with a practical orientation, including problems of regional social development.

The docent at the Perm Agricultural Institute, Candidate of Agricultural Sciences Yu. G. Yugov took up the particular features of the changes in the nature and content of labor by farmers and livestock raisers under Urals conditions and the related demands on vocational guidance for school children and on the system for training and retraining agricultural personnel. In describing the experience of social planning on the level of the rayons and agroindustrial enterprises, he gave an example where precisely defined criteria for the effectiveness of the plans to be carried out, in particular, the growth of labor productivity from the social measures, made it possible for the workers in Berezovskiy Rayon of Perm Oblast to obtain 500,000 rubles of additional product.

Yugov was supported by the head of the Chair at the Ufa Aviation Institute, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences N. A. Aitov. This institute's laboratory for many years has specialized in the problems of regional social planning, in employing a well-worked-out method of a specific program approach and mathematical modeling of the development trends of social relations. The laboratory co-workers have worked out a system of equations of a forecast nature for approximately 40 parameters. On the basis of respondent judgments, a comparison is made of various types of cities and towns as well as towns and villages. In this context many basic questions arise related, in particular, to managing the process of eliminating social differences. There are also grounds to speak about excessive hurry in overcoming certain differences between city and countryside. In a word, the need has arisen to elaborate a theory, methodology and procedure for controlling complex social processes and this should be done for the long run. Also essential are methods for a complete accounting and forecasting of human personal needs. The journal SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, Aitov feels, must raise new problems more boldly even if they are not yet fully realized and have not been assessed in the sphere of social planning and management.

For the sociologists concerned with the problems of regional social development, of great value is the procedural experience of colleagues and of great importance is meetings with economic leaders, feels Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, Prof N. S. Novoselov. There has not been a single such meeting in Sverdlovsk. On this level, one should note the organizational efforts of the journal's editors as apparent, for example, in the "Lenkoran experiment." The link of science with practice and the introduction of research results into life should become one of the basic areas for the activities of the sociological journal.

An important aspect in a region's social development, feels Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V. D. Popov (Ufa), is the interaction of factors which shape the individual. Among these the role of the family has been constantly rising. The related problems require close attention by the sociologists and their direct involvement in working out and implementing, primarily under the conditions of large cities, of a range of measures aimed at strengthening the indoctrinational possibilities of the family. For example, in the Bashkir ASSR, in accord with recommendations by sociologists, a number of measures have been outlined to improve the indoctrinational work of the public educational institutions. At the same time, it is essential to seek out other ways for overcoming the conservatism of certain pedagogues who adhere to the old stereotypes and who view all the school's activities solely through the prism of a lesson. At one time, the journal came out with the valid idea of strengthening the ties between sociology and the pedagogical sciences and even a roundtable was held by the journal and the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences. However, up to now no noticeable changes have occurred and the wishes have remained just that. It is unimportant who is to blame--the sociologists or the pedagogues--the important thing is to get things off dead center.

The Head of the Chair of Scientific Communism at the Urals Polytechnical Institute, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Yu. R. Vishnevskiy drew attention to the fact that under the new conditions a change has occurred in the moral incentives for highly productive labor, shock work and the socialist competition.

However, this is not always considered by sociologists in working out the corresponding questionnaires and in formulating the alternatives. As a result, both the scientific level of the research and its practical importance suffer. It would be wise to have the journal publish certain questionnaires for broad discussion. It would also be a good thing to introduce the special heading "Sociologists Propose."

The science associate from the Sociological Laboratory at the Chelyabinsk Pedagogical Institute, V. V. Nikanorov voiced the opinion that sociological research should not only disclose problems but also help in solving them. For example, in Chelyabinsk comprehensive specific programs have been worked out for introducing the results of sociological research into practice. These have been used in drawing up and carrying out city economic and social development plans. The task is now to study the mechanism for introducing the recommendations of the sociologists under the specific conditions of the individual regions and national economic sectors.

Over the last 5 years, in the Orenburg area there has been increased interest in sociological research, commented Candidate of Economic Sciences E. M. Vinogradova. At the local medical institute sociologists are studying the problems of social hygiene and are working out preventive measures to prevent vocational illnesses, to improve working conditions and reduce the sickness rate at oblast enterprises. Sociological brigades have worked at the Karaganda TETs, at the Orenburg railroad depot and in the construction organizations. The experience shows the broad opportunities for involving VUZ sociologists in studying various aspects of regional social development.

Over 100 representatives from the scientific institutions and VUZes of all the republics and oblasts of the Urals participated in the roundtable session. There was a concrete and informative discussion of the ways to improve sociological research and to strengthen the role of sociological science in the economic and social development of the given region.

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10272

CSO: 1806/23

ON THE PATH TO EFFICIENCY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press
19 Apr 83) pp 170-173

[Article by Al'bert Nikolayevich Sokolov, head of the Section for Socioeconomic Research at the Design-Engineering Institute of the USSR Ministry of Industrial Construction and chairman of the bureau of the Tula Affiliate of the Soviet Sociological Association. Our journal has published his article "A New Stage in the Development of Social Planning" (No 2, 1981, in co-authorship with A. G. Belov).]

[Text] To be or not to be? A discussion of the question about plant sociological services also comes down to these doubts of Hamlet. Applied sociology, that is, that sociology which essentially verifies the productiveness of theoretical thought with good reason has recently become a subject of passionate analysis on the journal's pages.

The effectiveness of carrying out sociological conclusions and recommendations in economic and political reality--and here we must agree with V. V. Chichilimov [1, p 127]--actually as yet does not meet those aspirations and hopes which accompanied the "renaissance" of Soviet sociology at the end of the 1960's and the start of the 1970's. For this reason, it is not surprising that even among sociologists voices are at times heard expressing a mistrust in the viability of present-day applied sociology, in the necessity of broad professionalization of the practical workers and the advisability of attempts to find more adequate forms for the activity of the plant sociological services.

Similar doubts have slipped in not only the special publications but also at times are voiced in a mass audience. Recently I happened to hear a speech by a scientist who for some time had worked fruitfully in the area of sociology and whc, in particular, complained that the accompanying "boom" was over and that supposedly this had led to negative results with the departure of the enthusiasts who previously comprised the creative potential of sociological science. Another justification for the speaker's doubts was that many plant sociologists were insufficiently qualified, they had a poor mastery of the methods and procedures for the mathematical processing of the data, they were not excellent experts on law, psychology, medicine, design, production engineering and management, there were basically no physical facilities for conducting the research and so forth.

In actuality there has been a efflux of practical and scientific workers from sociology, the technical research facilities are very far from the ideal while the plant sociologists themselves having received, as a rule, the wage of a regular engineer are not universalists and do not even have a special education which is nowhere to be obtained for a majority of them.

All of this is true enough. However, this is not the heart of the matter. While during the so-called boom there was a rush into applied sociology by new recruits who had a very tentative (not so much scientific as popular) idea about the new profession, while now different trends are apparent and this must be noticed. First of all, it is worth pointing out that a majority of the true enthusiasts are continuing their difficult job and consider this their cause in life and not a well-beaten path to a laurel crown. They, the enthusiasts, are still going into applied sociology, although the "peak" of the boom is over. Incidentally, precisely then during the "peak hour," in Tula, for example, just five production collectives had sociologists. Now virtually all the major industrial enterprises in the city possess sociological personnel. Incidentally where the true enthusiasts started their work alone, now sociological services have been formed or are forming the co-workers of which use both mathematical methods and machine processing of the data and are achieving a real and not a "hypothetical" social and economic effect. In response to this, the enterprise leadership is "maintaining" sociologists on the staff not just for the sake of prestige and not for preparing sociostatistical information occasionally, but is actively utilizing their professional help. Here are just a few facts.

At the Tulachermet [Tula Ferrous Metallurgy] NOP [Scientific-Production Association], for carrying out a new production idea it was decided to build another shop on the basis of rolling production located in a suburban settlement near Tula. The question arose of attracting additional labor resources. It was known that many of the settlement inhabitants were employed outside it although previously a portion of them had worked in rolling production. The association leadership turned to the sociologists of the NPO (they were headed by the member of the SSA V. M. Sevast'yanov) with a request to determine the possibility of staffing the new shop with personnel from local inhabitants. As a result of the conducted research, the objective factors which had forced the settlements inhabitants to seek work outside were disclosed. The leadership of the NPO was given specific recommendations the implementation of which made it possible to provide the shop with the necessary personnel and create a stable collective at it.

At one of the Tula plants where the sociological service is led by the SSA member A. I. Andreyev, valuable experience has been gained in social planning considering the existing quality control system (on the basis of social certification and social standards at the enterprise). The economic effect from the immediate activities of the sociologists for just the strictly calculated indicators was over 50,000 rubles in 1982.

The sociological service at the design-engineering institute of the USSR Ministry of Industrial Construction has conducted diverse work in the area of labor sociology. The comprehensive specific program for "personnel" developed here was exhibited at the USSR VDNKh [All-Union Exhibit of National Economic

Achievement]. As one of the first in the sector, this service has carried out the experimental introduction of social norms and guidelines and this has been viewed positively in the sociological literature [2, p 239].

Such examples are far from isolated. It was no accident that not only sociologists but also representatives from the party committees, the administration and public organizations of the leading Tula plants and factories described the practices of sociological work at a seminar conducted by the Industrial Transport Section of the Tula CPSU Gorkom.

Applied sociology **is becoming a necessary management tool** and for increasing production efficiency. This is the main truth, the main trend. There should be a uniform answer to the question of to be or not to be for the sociological services which perform tasks of an applied nature. It is also futile to argue about their quantitative size or level of control as either question should be settled by the specific conditions, by the requirements, possibilities and so forth.

The functional status is a different matter. A plant (sectorial too) sociological service, as a rule, is viewed as a "closed" system functioning within an individual labor collective (sector or department). But in actuality everything is much more complicated. At one time L. A. Gordon and E. V. Klopov [3, p 345] pointed out: "The achieving of the basic aims in social planning...is impossible solely within an enterprise or even a system of enterprises; these are achievable only in a more or less whole social organism encompassing all the basic conditions of life--both production as well as its domestic aspects, both work at an enterprise and the everyday sphere on the given territory." This same viewpoint was essentially supported by Zh. T. Toshchenko [4]. Also indicative is the comment of V. V. Chichilimov [1, p 132]: "Many enterprises, for example, have spent thousands of rubles to create good working conditions. But these measures have not brought about the desired reduction in personnel turnover or improvement in labor discipline." The production situations which require a sociological "intervention" going beyond the limits of the collective are certainly possible outside the confines of social planning as can be seen by the above-given example from the experience of the Tulachermet NPO. Consequently, the task for the productive functioning of the plant sociological services can gain a more effective solution under the condition of bringing them together into a territorial system with a single coordinating center.

Let me explain this idea by another example. The questions of labor resources, their skills and the worker attitudes toward their jobs presently require particular attention. Instances of mismanagement, losses of working time and a reduced increase rate of productivity--these are not only a phenomenon of an economic order but primarily a social phenomenon directly concerning us, the sociologists, our work and our research. This is why the bureau of the Tula Affiliate of the SSA has decided to make a thorough study of labor discipline at all the city enterprises possessing sociological personnel. At the same time a young specialist turned to the bureau. He was a teacher (incidentally from among the enthusiasts) and posed that certain school problems be viewed by the eyes of a sociologists, and in particular, the problem of labor indoctrination. And we thought that at the same time this is the starting point of

that chain a link in which is, in particular, labor discipline. Hence the research could assume a more comprehensive nature and its results would acquire great practical importance for the city as a whole.

Certainly such work requires a unified approach, precise coordination and leadership. This is beyond the power of an individual plant or sectorial socio-logical service which is simultaneously burdened down with its own plan quotas and working under the conditions of its own functioning and administrative subordination. Any consultative body working on volunteer principles would scarcely be effective (essential for the same reasons). The times urgently require the organizing of viable territorial sociological services based, for instance, on the pooling of facilities by the interested enterprises and institutions or on the basis of a special laboratory under an institution of higher learning.

Such a territorial service staffed with skilled personnel could directly and effectively solve the questions of coordinating the work of sociologists at the enterprises and organizations, create conditions for the constant growth of professional skill and training reserves of sociological personnel, provide procedural leadership over the research, supply the sociologists with standardized supplies and the necessary information, propagandize scientific sociological knowledge among economic leaders and so forth. The implementation of this proposal--at first within an experiment--would make it possible to eliminate at least those points of misunderstanding which have been caused by a one-sided view of production collectives and their sociological services as some isolated formations.

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10272
CSO: 1806/23

QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEYING IN THE WORK PRACTICES OF THE PLANT SOCIOLOGICAL SERVICE

Moscow SOTSIOLICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press 19 Apr 83) pp 173-175

[Article by Genadiy Ivanovich Marchenko, candidate of philosophical sciences and chief of the Sociological Research Laboratory at the Klimovsktekstil'mash (Klimovsk Textile Machinery) Production Association (Moscow Oblast). This is his first article in our journal.]

[Text] The use of questionnaire surveying in industrial psychology has its own specific features determined by the aims, tasks and functions of a plant service. A failure to understand these particular features can tell negatively on all the activities of the latter. Thus, a number of interesting proposals on organizing a sociologist's work at an enterprise was voiced by V. A. Skripov [1, 2]. In supporting many of them, at the same time I would like to refute the author's opinion that the "infantile sickness" of "questionnairemania" has done a good deal of damage to the reputation of plant sociology, for it has created an oversimplified and incorrect notion of this [2, p 52]. In my opinion, there are no grounds for such a skeptical attitude. But an underestimation of the actual possibilities of questionnaire surveying may end up with a sharp narrowing of the scientific base for the activities of the sociological service. Let us examine in more detail the arguments advanced by Skripov in defense of his viewpoint.

The first argument. "The questionnaire method is cumbersome and the information obtained after processing the raw data is often out of date before it can be used for taking management decisions" [Ibid.]. One can agree with the judgment of the labor intensiveness of the given method although, from my viewpoint, it is not the most complicated in the arsenal of plant sociology. The experience of the services at the Perm Telephone Plant, KamAZ [Kama Truck Plant] and the Klimovsk Machine Building Plant imeni Doyenin has shown that the sociological research can be carried out and its results generalized within a period from 3 to 6 months. With a well-organized collecting and processing system, such a method can also be carried out in a shorter period. Thus, the Personnel ASU [Automatic Management System] existing at our enterprise makes it possible within a week to obtain data suitable for taking management decisions and concerning manpower turnover as well as the sociodemographic and professional structure of the collective.

Even if there is comparatively much time for conducting the research, the obtained information does not go out of date as rapidly as Skripov asserts. In the first place, the social processes change less intensely than technical, economic and other processes do. Consequently, the questionnaire data can be used for a relatively long period of time. Secondly, sociological research, including of an applied nature, is aimed at elucidating the essence of processes and this, as is known, possesses relatively great stability. This makes it possible to conclude that the timeliness of information obtained as a result of questionnaire surveying remains rather long.

The second argument. The questionnaire anonymous averaged data, in Skripov's opinion, on the one hand, are based on a local and small statistic and, on the other, deprive the sociologist of a live contact with the audience; the method does not make it possible to take concrete, individually differentiated decisions [Ibid.]. This assertion evokes several rejoinders. As is known, an intelligently and correctly constructed questionnaire survey even with a small selective aggregate is capable of providing reliable results. It cannot be felt that the larger the number of persons questioned the more dependable the data. Moreover, the use of questionnaires in no way excludes the immediate contact of the sociologist with the respondents. In the work of our laboratory we successfully combine in one study the use of questionnaires, interviewing and observation. Incidentally, the information obtained by this method makes it possible to take sound and at the same time "specifically targeted" decisions.

The third argument. "A questionnaire is not the best instrument for collecting and working out proposals to improve the studied questions" [Ibid.]. We feel that the importance of any method is determined by the purpose it is used for. As an example, our sociological laboratory regularly conducts questionings the task of which is to elucidate worker opinion on the ways for improving the social organization and production situation at the enterprise. The research results are examined at the permanent production conference; many of the ideas voiced by the resopndents have been reflected in orders and instructions for the association. In the given instance it is a question of a particular variety of the questionnaire method aimed at directly collecting worker proposals.

The fourth argument. The information contained in the results of a questionnaire survey (let us assume, on the dynamics of turnover) can be obtained by traditional methods employed in the work of the personnel service. Consequently, such information provides little that is new for the administration [Ibid.]. Here Skripov is confusing two types of information: individual which characterizes the conduct of an individual person or individual situation and the social which reflects the factors and conditions that are generally significant for many people. Undoubtedly, in the first case adequacy, soundness and so forth are also inherent to the collected information. However, such information is an element of management organizational activities and it is not sufficient for taking effective decisions. In this context we would recall that the rise of the sociological service was precisely brought about by the need to obtain replies to questions which could not be handled by the means existing in the arsenal of management theory and practice. It is a question primarily of the special procedures for collecting and interpreting the data. Of course, the

cognitive possibilities of the questionnaire method have their limits. But the latter in no way means their uselessness or low effectiveness under enterprise conditions.

The fifth argument. "The questionnaire method is not very reliable if it is used incorrectly. The material obtained by a questionnaire reflects largely public opinion. The reasons for this opinion the study of which is essential for taking management decisions are investigated by other methods" [2, p 53]. The given assertion brings us back, seemingly, to the long resolved doubts on the possibilities of the questionnaire methods. Is it valid to reduce the tasks of the questionnaire surveying to the establishing of public opinion. Plant sociologists widely and successfully use the latter for the most diverse purposes [3]. Moreover, precisely by using a questionnaire it is possible, in my view, to elucidate both the state of public opinion as well as the mechanism and factors of its formation. Finally, even if the questionnaire survey were employed only for studying public opinion, in this instance it could provide a good practical return. Frequently in taking management decisions, it is important to know what the collective thinks on one or another question. For example, at one of the trade union conferences at our association, the speakers raised the question of the need to increase the time of the lunch break. The administration asked the sociologists to see the level of dissatisfaction with the length of the latter. An express questionnaire survey was the most effective means for solving the problem. The carrying out of this showed that the amount of dissatisfaction was small (around 8 percent). A majority of the respondents was maintaining the existing procedure. Thus, the obtained information prevented us from taking hurried managerial decisions....

Skripov's conclusion is: "Mass questionnaire surveys at an enterprise are gradually dying out" [Ibid.]. This does not seem sufficiently persuasive. This is supported both by methodological considerations as well as the practical work of the plant sociological services.

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10272
CSO: 1806/23

'YOUR MOOD'

Moscow SOTSIOLICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press
19 Apr 83) pp 175-176

[Article by Andrey Vladimirovich Reshetnichenko, senior engineer sociologist at the sociological research group of the Order of the October Revolution Nizhnedneprovsk Pipe Rolling Plant imeni K. Liebknecht. This is the first time he has been published in our journal.]

[Text] At the Nizhnedneprovsk Pipe Rolling Plant imeni K. Liebknecht, as at many other of the nation's enterprises, such forms of democratic production management as worker meetings, articles in the large-circulation newspapers and radio news and shift conferences have become a permanent part of life and have proven effective. Not so long ago the plant created a new sociopsychological information service called "Your Mood." The merit of this service is that a person, in encountering instances of mismanagement or manifestations of morals and principles alien to the socialist way of life, without pigeonholing the question, telephones the service and states his complaint, proposal or request. He does not have to get up courage to go somewhere or write or wait until there is a meeting. As is known, precisely these circumstances leave many good initiatives and intentions unfulfilled. The psychological stress arising out of the encountering of negative aspects of reality is instantaneously removed and the solution to the question is put in the hands of a special service. Just what is this service?

Its operating principal is as follows: during the daytime the sociologist on duty receives all the incoming information. He attentively hears out the speaker, clarifying the necessary details. The conversation is taped and this makes it possible in the future to return to the discussion. Since the plant operates around-the-clock, there is provision to record the calls at night with an automatic system.

The procedure for examining the alerts received by telephone is as follows. A service co-worker listens to the tape, making entries in a special journal. When necessary the sociologists pay a call from the source of the alert, that is, to a shop, brigade, section or one or another leader. Having clarified the received data and supplemented these with their own, they draw up service notes for the leaders who have the competence to settle the questions touched upon. The period for taking the necessary measures has been set by a joint document of the direction, party committee, trade union committee and Komsomol committee

and equals 5 workdays. Having received a reply, the sociologists determine the degree of its informational interest for all the plant workers and depending upon this either turn over the material to the plant print shop or radio news or inform the interested person of the measures adopted.

Each week the sociologists draw up a brief express announcement on the alerts received by the signal and the measures adopted and turn over the materials to the plant administration and to the party committee. At the direct ideological sessions with the director and at the meetings of the party aktiv, the work of the leaders relating to the alerts received through the "Your Mood" system is discussed without fail in a most detailed manner.

The introduction of the "Your Mood" system was preceded by painstaking work to explain its goals and tasks. The plant newspaper PRIDNEPROVSKIY METALLURG carried a number of articles on the operating principles of the service, the party committee conducted explanatory work with the administration and the party aktiv of the production subdivisions and held general worker meetings. A special attractive poster was prepared and this was distributed to all the plant subdivisions.

The "Your Mood" service has become a part of the collective's life. Each year a total of around 1,400 persons turn to its services, or virtually one out of every five plant workers. Out of the total number of questions received by the service, 84 percent have been settled completely or specific measures have been outlined the fulfillment of which is monitored by the management, by the party committee, the plant trade union committee and the sociological service. An important indicator for the effectiveness for the given form of work has been the 35-percent reduction in the number of worker complaints, including those to superior organizations. There has also been a decline in comments on shortcomings in the work of the internal plant and municipal passenger transport (by 44 percent), on the questions of public dining at the plant (by 42 percent), the repair of housing (by 29 percent), complaints of incorrect actions by leaders (by 37 percent), of production services and the supply of special clothing (by 31 percent), unstable production (by 23 percent), shortcomings in supplying the work areas with materials, stock, tools and attachments (by 21 percent), the work of children's preschool institutions (by 22 percent) and wage questions (by 19 percent).

Thus, the new service has helped optimize control over the processes of production and social activities in the labor collectives. In analyzing the content of the statements, the sociologists determine the timeliness and social significance of the individual problems in the managerial sphere, they disclose the factors giving rise to the complaint and help work out specific measures to eliminate them.

The "Your Mood" service is directly related to improving the style and method of work among the different levels of leaders and directly influences the improved moral-psychological climate in the labor collectives. Manifestations of naked bureaucracy and the custom of giving orders without going into the essence of the questions, a lack of interest in the needs and problems of subordinates and, finally, professional incompetence--all such instances evoke an

immediate and strong response among the workers and come into the sphere of activity of the sociological service. An arising situation is resolved immediately and experience shows that intervention by the service and sometimes the administration and party committee helps to dispel arising tension and restore a normal psychological climate in the collective.

Such work requires from the specialist the ability to relate correctly to a person who has come to the service, to consider his psychophysiological and moral features, to determine the form of contact, type and nature of conversation as well as the ability to take a decision on the essence of the problem. This places high demands on the workers of the service and presupposes their thorough professional preparation.

The increased authority of the sociological service has led to a situation where people often entrust it with problems of personal and family relations. New areas of work have gradually been established and these later have developed into the establishing of a consultation point for family and marriage questions as well as lecture services on moral and other problems.

The experience of the plant sociological service has been generalized by the Administration of Worker Personnel and Housing-Consumer Services under the Ukrainian Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy and has been recommended for introduction at other enterprises of the sector as a socially and economically effective form of social self-administration.

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10272
CSO: 1806/23

DIALECTICS OF THE GENERAL AND PARTICULAR IN THE ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT
OF SOCIALISM

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press
19 Apr 83) pp 192-201

[Article by Nikolay Varfolomeyevich Pilipenko, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor and specialist in the area of materialistic dialectics. The author of the monographs "Neobkhodimost' i sluchaynost'" [Necessity and Chance] (1965), "Sootnosheniye obshchikh zakonomernostey i osobennostey v vozniknovenii i razvitiu sotsializma" [The Relationship of General Patterns and Particular Features in the Rise and Development of Socialism] (1974), "Dialektika neobkhodimosti i sluchaynosti" [The Dialectics of Necessity and Chance] (1980) and others. Our journal has published his articles "The Particular Features of the Occurrence of the Scientific-Technical Revolution in Different Socioeconomic Systems" (No 1, 1974), "Methodological Problems in a Critique of Modern Anti-Marxist Ideology" (No 2, 1976), "Particular Features of Social Planning and Forecasting under Present-Day Conditions" (No 1, 1978) and "The Relationship of Necessity and Chance in Sociohistorical Processes" (No 3, 1979).]

[Text] Izdatelstvo Nauka under the general editorship of Academician L. F. Il'ichev is publishing a series of collective monographs on "Materialistic Dialectics as a General Theory of Development." The third volume has been published. At present, work is underway on the manuscript of the fourth volume. Below we publish in an abridged version one of the chapters of this manuscript prepared by Prof N. V. Pilipenko.

A dialectical relationship, unity, interaction and intertransitions of the general and the particular are an important pattern of social progress which has always operated but has assumed particular significance under the conditions of socialist construction.

In analyzing the first results of the October Revolution, V. I. Lenin wrote: "Now we are confronted with very respectable international experience which shows with the fullest certainty that certain basic traits of our revolution are of not local, not of particular national and not just Russian importance but rather of international significance.... The Russian model demonstrates to all nations something that is very substantial from their inevitable and not distant future" [2].

By the international significance of the experience of October, V. I. Lenin had in mind the "historical inevitability" of a repetition on an international scale of what had happened in Russia, that is, the establishing of the political power of the working class acting in an alliance with all workers; the elimination of the socioeconomic domination of the capitalists and other exploiters; the socialization of the basic means of production and the establishing of socialist production and other social relationships in the city and countryside; the familiarizing of the broad masses of people with spiritual values in the course of the cultural revolution; the development of socialist democracy; the leading, inspiring and organizing role of the working class and its vanguard, the communist party, in constructing a socialist society and other general patterns of its establishment and development.

The general patterns of the establishment, functioning and development of socialism are of an universal, international nature. This is explained by the fact that the socialist system in any nation, as historical experience has shown, arises in the course of a socialist revolution and is a component part of the single process of the revolutionary renewal of the world. All the peoples who have taken up the socialist path of development have the same opponents--the large national bourgeoisie within their nation and state monopolistic capitalism on the world scene; they also have the same common goal of building the most humane, just society in the world. The single nature of these patterns is also manifested in the fact that they encompass the socio-political structure of socialism and its economic and spiritual aspects not only within national state limits but also the world socialist system as a whole. Arising and broadening on their basis are such processes as socialist economic integration and the leveling out of socioeconomic and cultural development in the socialist commonwealth nations; the strengthening of their unity, commonness and solidarity in the sociopolitical, economic and ideological areas; the socialist internationalization of social life, the international socialist division of labor and so forth.

In bringing out the nature of the designated processes, it is important to bear in mind that the mechanism of action of the objective laws cannot be understood without considering the qualitatively new role of the subjective factor in a socialist society. The interaction of the general and the particular under capitalism occurs spontaneously. But under socialist conditions where development is consciously controlled and directed by the policy of Marxist-Leninist parties, the general and the particular are dialectically combined precisely through this scientific policy. A departure from the general patterns underlying the principles of socialist construction and the inability to creatively apply them under the specific historical conditions of one or another nation lead to grevious consequences. This can be seen from the counterrevolutionary putsch in Hungary in 1956, the events of 1968-1969 in Czechoslovakia, 1980-1982 in Poland. Marxist-Leninist parties have achieved successes when under the specific conditions of their nations they acted in accord with the general patterns and suffered setbacks when they deviated from them.

The action of the general patterns of socialist development under specific historical conditions. In the literature, the viewpoint is sometimes put forward according to which the possibility of the universal application of the general patterns of socialist development is disputed on the grounds that these operate

not in a pure form but rather under specific historical, nonrepeating reality. Such assertions are incorrect.

Marxist-Leninist science teaches and social practice proves that the action of the general development laws of society--both as a whole and in individual stages--is manifested not apart from the specific historical conditions but rather through them and for this reason these laws always operate in a definite, specific, particular form. In the work "On Our Revolution," V. I. Lenin wrote: "...With the general development pattern in all world history, individual zones of development representing an uniqueness of either form or the order of this development are in no way excluded but, on the contrary, are presumed" [3]. In illustrating the given thesis by the action of the general patterns in the establishment and development of imperialism in the various capitalist countries, V. I. Lenin pointed out: "Even trusts and even banks in modern imperialism, being equally inevitable with developed capitalism, differ in their specific form in the various countries. All the more different, regardless of their basic uniformity, are the political forms in the leading capitalist countries of America, England, France and Germany [4].

The action of the general laws of socialist revolution and the socialist transformation of society cannot occur except under particular national conditions in the individual countries and in specific national forms.

The methods, rates and procedures of socialist transformations have always born the imprint of the national and historical features and the political and cultural traditions of one or another country. Even in 1916, V. I. Lenin voiced the idea that all nations inevitably will arrive at socialism, but "each introduces uniqueness into one or another form of democracy, into one or another variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat and into one or another rate of socialist changes in the various aspects of social life" [4]. Lenin's prediction was realized in practice which confirmed that the action of general patterns is manifested in various forms corresponding to the concrete historical conditions and national features. Without referring to common patterns and without considering the concrete historical features in each nation it is impossible to successfully carry out the tasks of socialist construction.

The methods and means of creating a socialist society. An important aspect in the mechanism of interaction between the general and the particular under socialism is that the carrying out of general laws under changing specific historical conditions of each country leads to the establishing of a new particular in which the essential, main traits and characteristics of socialism assume a specific expression and enrichment.

For example, the political power of the working class, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia was embodied in the form of soviets, in Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland and the CSSR in people's democracies, in the GDR in a socialist state of workers and peasants and in Yugoslavia as a self-administering socialist democracy. In Vietnam and Laos, the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat are carried out by the bodies of people's democratic power set up in the place of the old eliminated state apparatus.

Each socialist country in its own way has solved the problems related to the establishing of a socialist economy. In the Soviet Union, due to the fierce resistance by the overthrown exploiting classes, the socialization of the basic means of production was carried out almost without compensation by the nationalizing of enterprises belonging to the upper and middle bourgeoisie. In many other socialist countries, nonindemnified expropriation of private capitalist property was combined with its partial purchase. For example, in Hungary artisan and small private enterprises were not confiscated and in the GDR the enterprises of middle-sized capitalists. In Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, the GDR, Laos, Romania and Poland various forms of private entrepreneurship activities have survived among artisans, handcraftsmen and traders who satisfy many needs of the population.

The socialist transformation of the countryside in our nation has occurred on nationalized land. The peasantry has moved from single-family farms to collective forms of agricultural production. At the same time, the kulaks were expropriated. In Bulgaria, Hungary and the GDR agricultural cooperatives were formed without the preliminary nationalization of land. For a certain time the peasantry received rent for the land and implements turned over to the cooperatives. In many socialist countries the kulaks were admitted to the cooperatives.

The different socialist countries have adopted various methods and means for carrying out the cultural revolution, for resolving the nationality question and the tasks of the ideological indoctrination of the masses.

The creative realization in practice of the general patterns considering the specific regional and national conditions also provides a qualitative characteristic of real socialism. The concept "real socialism" is nothing more than the reflection of the experience of the many countries building a new society. It is the result of the theoretical generalization of the "richest concrete development where one and the same thing is common to many or to all" [1].

Differences inherent to the individual countries in the methods, means and rates of socialist construction are explained by the fact that they commenced the transition to a new society not simultaneously and not from the same level of economic, political and cultural development. Here a major role has also been played by the differences in the class structure of one or another state, the national specific features and the international conditions.

The forms of organizing social life in the socialist countries. The Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th CPSU Congress pointed out that the objective process of the integration of the socialist states "does not eliminate the national specific features or historical traits of the socialist countries. In the diverse forms of their social life and in the organizing of the economy one must see what exists in reality: a wealth of ways and methods for establishing the socialist way of life" [6, p 10].

The socialist commonwealth countries with common political and socioeconomic bases have certain differences in the political system, in the organization and structure of the economy, in the forms of managing and planning the socioeconomic processes, in the methods of involving the workers in production management and so forth.

For example, in the USSR the political system was founded and has developed as an integrated complex of different organizations, each of which performs the functions inherent solely to it. This includes the CPSU, the state bodies, the trade unions, Komsomol and labor collectives. The CPSU is the guiding and directing force in society, the nucleus of its political system and the state and social organizations and the vanguard of the Soviet people. In being based on Marxist-Leninist teachings, it defines the general development prospects of society as well as the line of Soviet domestic and foreign policy; it directs the great creative activity of the Soviet people and gives a planned, scientifically based nature to their struggle for the victory of communism.

In Bulgaria, Vietnam, the GDR, North Korea, Poland and the CSSR, the political system is based upon an alliance of the communist and other democratic parties and patriotic organizations which have supported the program of socialist construction and recognize the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist parties in society.

The development of industry and construction in our nation has been characterized by the extensive introduction of scientific-industrial associations, territorial complexes and so forth. Agroindustrial, livestock raising and other complexes have become widespread in agriculture. State and economic combines are the organizational form in Bulgarian industry.. In agriculture, a dominant position is held by agroindustrial and industrial-agrarian complexes as strong economic organizations with a high level of production concentration and deep sectorial specialization.

For better socialist management the GDR has founded combines which are directly under the ministries. Similar work considering the requirements of scientific and technical progress has been done in agriculture.

Over the years of socialist construction, the fraternal countries have acquired much that is valuable in organizing production and management and in solving national economic problems. Hungary has skillfully organized the work of agricultural cooperatives and enterprises. The GDR has acquired rich experience in production rationalization and in saving energy, raw products and materials. Also of interest is the social support system in the CSSR. Useful forms of agroindustrial cooperation have been found in Bulgaria and the other European socialist nations.

In the USSR, great attention has been paid to introducing the specific program method into planning and to employing a comprehensive approach in planning the interrelated national economic sectors and national regions. In Bulgaria the economic mechanism is based on a new economic approach the basic principles and requirements of which are: consistent cost accounting and the full covering of costs, the rational use of economic levers, the strengthening of the democratic principle in planning and management, the combining of centralism and democracy; the dependence of the wage fund upon the work results of the collective.

In the CSSR, along with five-year plans for socioeconomic development, state-wide specific programs are worked out and great attention is given to the interaction of the five-year and annual plans. In Hungary the economic activities

of an enterprise are controlled both directly by the national economic plan (by specific decisions) as well as indirectly (through the market). In Romania, the financial and economic mechanism is based upon self-control and cost accounting and on increased worker responsibility for the results of enterprise operations. In Poland, the improving of management has been linked to the carrying out of an economic reform aimed at strengthening central planning, improving the role of enterprises operating on cost accounting, introducing a system of self-management and self-financing as well as increasing the creative activities of the labor collectives.

The socialist nations have developed diverse forms of worker participation in production management. In Hungary, the GDR and USSR, the enterprises have permanent production meetings and employee assemblies are held regularly; in Bulgaria there are economic councils, brigade councils and meetings of representatives; in Romania there is worker self-management and their bodies, the worker councils; in Poland, various forms of self-management are being introduced into all the labor collectives.

Regardless of the differences in national economic planning and management as found in the various socialist countries, common to all of them is the principle of democratic centralism which presupposes a combining of centralized planning with the economic independence and initiative of the enterprises and associations; the active use of cost accounting, profit, costs and other economic levers; the correct combination of material and moral incentives in labor; the development of the socialist competition as a method of mobilizing the masses to fulfill the economic and social development plans and so forth.

Between the socialist countries there is an intense exchange of experience in organizing economic, political and ideological life. This expresses a new aspect in the mechanism of interaction between the general and the particular under socialism. One or another innovation which has proven its effectiveness in the practice of socialist construction in a certain nation becomes widespread, it is adopted by the other fraternal countries and thus continues its existence no longer as something separate and particular but rather as a new general but here does not operate in any pure form but is always refracted through the uniqueness of the concrete historical conditions. Certainly, the successful solving of this problem depends primarily upon the creative approach to it by the Marxist-Leninist parties as well as the various state, economic and social organizations and labor collectives.

The diversity of forms in the political and economic organization of social life in the socialist countries can be explained primarily by the fact that they are in different stages of maturity of the communist formation. Here an important role is also played by the concrete historical situation, the local conditions and the development level of the productive forces.

The differences in the means and methods of building socialism and in the forms of organizing social life convincingly refute the fabrications of the opponents of communism who depict the socialist world as something uniform.

The single nature of socialism as a sociopolitical and economic system. Bourgeois ideologists deny that socialism is a single sociopolitical and economic system, asserting that there are only differently organized and differently functioning socialist states which differ from one another in many basic traits. From this the conclusion is drawn on the "particular" national or regional "model" of socialism and by which they mean the "model" of societies which have nothing in common with the actually existing socialist countries.

The Social Democrats, the rightist revisionists in the West and certain developing countries have proposed introducing different variations of "democratic socialism." In particular, the French renegade R. Garaudy has come out in favor of so-called self-managed socialism. Garaudy's concept permeated with the ideas of anarchosyndicalism and having a Utopian nature is based on the demand to immediately revise the existing legal definition of property and to elaborate a new legal status for an enterprise which should be characterized not as an "aggregate of investors of capital" but rather "as a group of people carrying out a joint project." This supposedly will allow the enterprise employees to become co-owners of the plants and participate in management.

Such "socialism" which does not presuppose the establishing of the power of the working class and all workers, the leading role of the Marxist parties and democratic centralism in economic management can be, in Garaudy's mind, established within the limits of the capitalist system. But its final establishment will occur in the indefinite future only after the declaring of a nation-wide strike [9].

Just what "democratic socialism" is can be seen from the example of the FRG, Denmark, Great Britain, Norway, Austria and a number of other countries where state power has been or is in the hands of the Social Democrats. The socio-political and economic system existing in these countries has in practice been neither democratic nor socialist but rather an antipopular system of state monopolistic capitalism. The socialist "experiments" of the social reformist parties in many Western countries, as a rule, have been carried out within capitalist reality, without making any essential changes in it.

The Swedish "model" has been advanced as the most developed model of "democratic socialism" and the basic traits of it are "social partnership," a mixed economy, a state social security system and so forth. However, in practice, this model has also been invalid.

Unconditionally also erroneous is the viewpoint of the leaders of the African Socialist International L. O. Senghor, A. Diufa, M. Busetta and others who have proposed a specific version for the African countries of "democratic socialism" which would bring together the mores and customs of the local peoples and "Western traditions." The main thing for socialism, in the opinion of the supporters of this model, is not the elimination of class inequality in society but rather the liquidation of the gap between the "poor" and "rich" nations.

"The theoreticians of 'democratic socialism,'" correctly comments the Mozambican newspaper NOTICIAS DA BEIRA of 15 May 1979, "are unable to propose any constructive program for the African countries. They are only concerned with the problem of 'improving the capitalist system' and are endeavoring with the

aid of the African Socialist International to divert the continent's progressive forces from the ideas of scientific socialism."

Under the pretext that the socialist commonwealth nations are building a "state capitalist" or "state bureaucratic" socialism according to the Soviet "model" (by the latter, they mean the mistakes and shortcomings of an objective and subjective sort which have occurred in creating the new social system), bourgeois ideologists and rightist revisionists have urged the gradual introduction here of "improved," "liberalized," "humane," "self-governed" and "pluralistic" socialism, a "socialism with a human face" and so forth; in other words, they again are proposing different variations of "democratic socialism." In practice this means abolishing the political power of the working class and all the workers, the leading role of the communist parties in society, the legalization of forces hostile to socialism, the legitimization of private ownership of the means of production, the restoration of so-called free entrepreneurship and the replacing of socialist democracy with political liberalism of the bourgeois stripe. The activities of the antisocialist and counterrevolutionary forces in Hungary in 1956, in the CSSR in 1968-1969 and in Poland in 1980-1982 are clear proof of this.

The leftist extremists and the supporters of social militaristic regimes, as a model for Asian and many African countries, have proposed "barracks communism," the basic traits of which are military-administrative methods of leading society, the violent regulation of the labor and everyday life of people, universal "leveling" in the distribution of goods, the equalizing of the population's income and defending the ideal of poverty and misery. The terrible consequences of "barracks communism" in Kampuchea which threatened the existence of an entire people are generally known..

The former Kampuchea leadership conducted a policy of genocide, it physically exterminated 3 million person, primarily the representatives of the working class and the intelligentsia, it drove the population from the cities into the countryside, into rural brigades which were a sort of concentration camp, it destroyed the large enterprises, public transport and cultural, educational and public health institutions, it eliminated the banking system, markets, religious shrines and so forth. The consequences of "barracks communism" have gradually been eliminated under the leadership of the United Front of National Salvation of Kampuchea with the aid of Vietnam, the USSR and the other socialist states.

For some time the leadership of a number of communist parties has energetically defended the right to specific national ways and forms in the struggle for socialism. Under the flag of the creative development of scientific socialism, the concept of the so-called third path for eurocommunism has been proposed. This would embody a social system differing both from the social system already existing in the capitalist nations and from the traditional ideas of "democratic socialism" worked out by the Social Democrats. The supporters of this concept assume that in contrast to the socialism which has been built in the USSR and other countries, it is essential to create a new socialist society which would guarantee personal and collective, civil and religious liberties, the nonideological nature of the state, the possibility of the existence of various parties and pluralism in social, culture and ideological life. Western

Europe should become the epicenter in the struggle for such new socialism [9]. But when the question arises of the basic traits of such socialism, there are no words about the elimination of large private ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange or of a transition of state power into the hands of the working class and all the workers [10].

The opposing of views about the future of socialism in the Western European nations to the real socialism built in the USSR and the other nations harms both the world socialist system as a whole as well as the parties fighting to escape from bourgeois reality. Contrary to reality the supporters of euro-communism assert that the socialist experiment embodied in the state-political and economic system of the USSR and supposedly violently transposed into the Eastern European countries has been a failure and that the phase of socialist development which started with the October Socialist Revolution has supposedly lost its historical driving force [8]. This is said about a nation, the pioneer of socialism, the name of which is linked with the indestruction of Nazi Germany and militaristic Japan, the saving of the world's peoples from fascist enslavement, the rise of the world socialist system, the upsurge in the international communist, workers and national liberation movement and the struggle for the peace and security of peoples, about a nation which has built a developed socialist society and is blazing the path toward communism.

The Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Party Congress emphasized that the USSR "is imposing on no one any patterns and schemes which ignore the particular features of one or another country" [6, p 16] and does not violate the rights of the other peoples to specific national ways and forms in the struggle for socialism. Precisely upon CPSU initiative, the documents of the international communist movement state that any communist party has the right to choose that path to socialism and those methods and means for constructing it which best fit the specific conditions. It is merely important that these means and methods not erode the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and would lead to true socialism and not to the strengthening of capitalism. On the assertions that the difficulties which certain socialist countries have encountered derived from the fact that the Soviet "model" has been imposed on them, this is a strange speculation. Yu. V. Andropov on this question said: "One has merely to look without prejudice at reality to understand all the absurdity of such assertions. Whatever socialist state one takes--everywhere one can see the manifestation of unique, national, historical, cultural and other features. When we are told that the construction of socialism in one or another nation should conform to its historical, political and cultural traditions, this is not a subject for debate. The subject for debate only comes up when after the discussion of all the possible 'models' the notion of the very essence of socialism and its fundamental differences from capitalism become evermore diffuse and hazy. Of course, decisive arguments arise when an effort is made to defame the experience of the peoples who have set out to build socialism and when the general patterns of socialist construction are actually rejected" [7].

In being in favor of the creative application of the general principles of the socialist revolution and socialist construction depending upon the specific historical conditions of each country and in cautioning against a mechanical copying of the policy and tactics by communist parties in other countries, the

CPSU and a majority of the other Marxist-Leninist parties at the same time do not recognize the concept of "models" of socialism. There is neither a Soviet or any other, including a eurocommunist, "model." There are Marxist-Leninist teachings on socialism and these are creatively analyzed under the specific conditions. There is the experience of the USSR and the other fraternal countries which is an international achievement. It contains both universal, generally significant traits which have been reflected in the other patterns of building socialism as well as the specific national traits which are reflected in the various ways of the struggle for socialism, in the different methods and means of its construction and in the diversity of the concrete forms of organizing social life in the socialist countries. The socialist states have worked for the mutual enrichment of the acquired historical experience of building a new society and they take from this experience what is most suitable to their conditions, needs and possibilities.

At the same time, the diversity in the ways of the revolutionary struggle, the numerous procedures and methods of creating socialism and the diversity of forms in organizing social life in the socialist countries do not mean that there are national or regional "models" of the new society or various "separate" types of socialism.

A socialist system, wherever it might be established, without fail should possess definite basic and main features. In the political area this is worker power with the vanguard role for the working class, the leadership of social development by the Marxist-Leninist parties and the development of socialist democracy. In the economic area this is public ownership of the means of production and on the basis of this the planned management of the national economy on a higher technical level in the interests of the well-being of all the population and the realization of the principle "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor." In the social area, this is the absence of exploitation of man by man and the gradual reduction of social differences in a direction of achieving class homogeneity. In the ideological area this means the indoctrinating of the people in a spirit of the ideology of scientific communism and in a spirit of friendship with the peoples of the fraternal socialist countries and the workers of the entire world. In the international area this is the carrying out of a policy based upon the principles of proletarian, socialist internationalism, the struggle for peace throughout the world and the freeing of mankind from wars.

Being general, these traits are manifested in each individual society, in various particular, national forms of embodying socialism. In this sense, "each individual is (in one way or another) also the general." Each individual or particular under socialist conditions can function fruitfully and develop only in the context of that relationship which leads to these general or main traits of socialism and comprising the essence of the individual. Any variation of a social system which does not reflect the above-indicated principles is in fact not socialist. Otherwise the concept "socialism" would designate completely different quality phenomena and the science about socialism would become impossible, for it would include non-Marxist and even anti-Marxist, bourgeois views and theories.

If one agrees that socialism is characterized by certain general features, then it must be admitted that they are inherent to it regardless of the geographic region and historical period in the development of mankind. In this regard, it is important to refer to a statement by the Secretary General of the British Communist Party Gordon McLennan in an interview given to the journal FRANCE NOUVELLE (6 June 1977): "Communism cannot be contained in any geographic boundaries of the continents or part of a continent. Communism is a definite concept for organizing the world" and N. Ceausescu in an interview with a special correspondent from the Yugoslav weekly NIN (30 March 1978): "Socialism cannot be divided by the countries building it. The fact that each country should consider its own particular features and traditions does not mean that it is creating a different form of socialism."

What is sought by the supporters of the concept of a multiplicity of national and regional "models" of socialism?

Under this name plaque bourgeois ideologists, reformists and rightist revisionists have endeavored to shake and defame real socialism in those countries where it has been built and to weaken the fraternal ties between the socialist countries and fan nationalism in them. In defending the concept of various "models" of socialism, its supporters are objectively working to split the concept of "socialism" into a multiplicity of different socioeconomic structures which differ from really existing socialism but to one degree or another side with really existing capitalism.

The far-fetched "models" of socialism, regardless of their modification, have one common and main feature, that is, they are aimed against the international essence of Marxist-Leninist teachings about the socialist transformation of society and this in practice leads to bourgeois nationalism and to the artificial opposing of the socialist countries and their communist parties to those communist parties and countries where socialist revolutions have not yet been victorious.

The concept of a multiplicity of "models" for socialism does not serve the sources of truth but rather its conscientious distortion, not the development of revolutionary theory but rather its emasculation, not the attracting of the masses to socialism but rather their spiritual disarmament before the class enemy, not to the strengthening of the communist movement but rather to its splitting and to the undermining of class solidarity among the workers.

At the same time "the struggle for socialism," said Lenin, "is a struggle of the international revolutionary proletariat. Precisely because capital has linked the entire world into a single economic organism, this struggle cannot help but be international" [5].

For any country which has set out on the true path of real socialism it is not in national and international interests to ignore both the common patterns of its establishment and development which are of an objective nature as well as the concrete historical conditions and national features or to disregard the already acquired experience of socialist construction in different countries.

Authentic Marxist-Leninists are decisively against the attempts to "split" socialism into national and regional versions or to distort Lenin's principles of combining the international and the national, the general and the particular in carrying out a socialist revolution and in the rise, functioning and development of socialism. At the same time there can be no doubt that as the revolutionary process develops and as constantly new nations having different levels of socioeconomic maturity, differing national traditions and so forth drop out of the imperialist system, the specific means of winning political power in the course of the socialist revolution, the methods and means of building socialism, the forms of the political and economic organization of the new society in each country will become more diverse. But all of this will occur on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, scientific socialism and the creative application of the general patterns of the socialist revolution and socialist construction to the different countries and to their specific national conditions.

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10272
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AT THE DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY AND LAW OF THE USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

Moscow SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press
19 Apr 83) pp 202-203

[Unattributed article]

[Text] The 60th birthdays are being celebrated by the well-known Soviet scientist Academician V. G. Afanas'yev and the corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences G. L. Smirnov. These jubilees were celebrated at a session of the Bureau of the Department of Philosophy and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

The works of V. G. Afanas'yev on Marxist-Leninist philosophy, the theory of scientific communism and sociology are of great theoretical and practical significance. The person being honored is responsible for one of the first attempts of a Marxist-Leninist systems analysis of management problems. He is the author of over 180 works including the widely-known monographs: "Nauchnnoye upravleniye obshchestvom" [The Scientific Management of Society], "Ob intensifikatsii razvitiya sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva" [On Intensifying the Development of a Socialist Society], "Nauchno-tehnicheskaya revolyutsiya, upravleniye i obrazovaniye" [The Scientific-Technical Revolution, Management and Education], "Sotsial'naya informatsiya i upravleniye obshchestvom" [Social Information and the Control of Society] and "Chelovek v upravlenii obshchestvom" [Man in the Management of Society]. They have all been translated into foreign languages.

The works examine the problems of intensifying social development and have thoroughly investigated the mechanisms of the impact of the scientific-technical revolution on production management, social and ideological relations and information processes.

The monographs "Sistemnost' i obshchestvo" [Systems and Society] and "Obshchestvo: sistemnost', poznaniye i upravleniye" [Society: Systems, Cognition and Management] have been the result of 25 years' work by V. G. Afanas'yev. They elaborate the questions of the methodology of systems research, they analyze the concepts of a system, its structure, functions, dynamics and interaction with nature and the social environment and examine the systems nature of the forms of cognition as well as the means of understanding systems.

The speeches by the academician-secretary of the Department of Philosophy and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the department members also noted the contribution of V. G. Afanas'yev to elaborating dialectical materialism and the philosophical problems of biology. Among the works in this area the monograph "Problema tselostnosti v filosofii i biologii" [The Problem of Wholeness in Philosophy and Biology] stands out. The book is the first fundamental study in our nation on the relationship of systemness and wholeness.

V. G. Afanas'yev is widely known in the USSR and abroad as a popularizer of Marxist-Leninist theory. For more than 20 years in the network of party studies his textbook "Osnovy filosofiskikh zneniy" [Principles of Philosophical Knowledge] has been used; it has gone through 12 editions and has been translated into 50 languages. Equally popular are the textbooks written by him "Nauchnyy kommunizm" [Scientific Communism], "Osnovy nauchnogo sotsializma" [Principles of Scientific Socialism] and "Sotsializm i kommunizm" [Socialism and Communism] (the last two are for readers in foreign countries).

V. G. Afanas'yev has devoted a great deal of energy to sociopolitical activities as a member of the CPSU Central Committee, as a deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet, as the chairman of the USSR Union of Journalists, as the vice-president of the International Society of Journalists, as vice-president of the Committee on Ties for the Moscow Congress of Peace-Loving Forces and as a member of the Committee for the Lenin and State Prizes. V. G. Afanas'yev combines great scholarly and social work with the duties of the editor-in-chief of the newspaper PRAVDA.

Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences G. L. Smirnov is well known by the Soviet public as a profound student of the problems of the shaping of the individual under socialist conditions, the dynamics of the socio-class structure in Soviet society, the development of social awareness and the communist indoctrination of the workers as well as the modern ideological struggle. He has written over 100 scientific works. Particularly well known is his monograph "Sovetskiy chelovek" [The Soviet Man] which has gone through three editions and has been translated into a number of foreign languages.

In the works of G. L. Smirnov a marked place is held by a study of the questions of the theory of scientific communism and in particular the impact of revolutionary transformations on the status and spiritual world of the individual and his way of life.

In the scientific sociological literature, a prominent place is held by the monographs of G. F. Smirnov devoted to the working class: "Rabochiy klass SSSR" [The Soviet Working Class], "Razvitiye rabochego klassa SSSR i yego rol' v stroitel'stve kommunizma" [The Development of the Soviet Working Class and Its Role in the Construction of Communism] and "Formirovaniye kommunisticheskikh obshchestvennykh otnosheniy" [The Formation of Communist Social Relations]. In his creative plans are research on the processes of the intensification of the economy, changes in the work style of economic personnel, the accelerating of scientific and technical progress and the eliminating of socio-class differences.

From Marxist positions the works of G. L. Smirnov have provided a thorough and well reasoned criticism of the "leftist-radical," "ultra-Marxist" and other concepts of bourgeois ideologists, philosophers and sociologists.

G. L. Smirnov is actively engaged in sociopolitical work, being a candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and a member of the editorial boards of the journals KOMMUNIST and NAUCHNYY KOMMUNIZM.

The members of the Department of Philosophy and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences wish their associates new creative accomplishments and further successes in work for the good of our motherland.

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THE SIXTIETH BIRTHDAY OF V. N. KUDRYAVTSEV

Moscow SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press
19 Apr 83) p 203

[Unattributed interview with V. N. Kudryavtsev, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Honored Scientist of the RSFSR; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] April 1983 marks the 60th birthday of the well-known Soviet scientist, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Honored Scientist of the RSFSR, V. N. Kudryavtsev. His books on criminal law, criminology and the sociology of law are widely known in our nation and abroad. Many of them have been translated into foreign languages. In recent years, V. N. Kudryavtsev has published the fundamental monographs "Obshchaya teoriya kvalifikatsii prestupleniy" [General Theory in Determining the Nature of a Crime], "Prichiny pravonarusheniy" [The Causes of Infractions of the Law], "Pravo i povedeniye" [Law and Conduct], "Mekhanizm prestupnogo povedeniya" [The Mechanism of Criminal Conduct] and "Pravovoye povedeniye: norma i patologiya" [Lawful Conduct: The Norm and Pathology].

For 10 years now, V. N. Kudryavtsev has headed the Institute of State and Law under the USSR Academy of Sciences. Under his leadership the basic areas for developing research in the area of state and law for 1976-1990 were outlined, and comprehensive programs for the institute's scientific research were worked out and implemented. V. N. Kudryavtsev also participates in extensive socio-political work. He is the deputy chairman of the board of the All-Union "Znaniye" [Knowledge] Society, a member of the Plenum of the USSR VAK [Higher Certification Committee] and a member of the Expert Council of the Committee on the State and Lenin Prizes; he participates also in the work of the scientific-consultative councils of the law-protecting bodies.

A correspondent from the journal SOTCILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA met with V. N. Kudryavtsev and asked him to respond to the editors' questions.

[Question] Do you feel that there is a need and opportunity for strengthening ties between sociological science and legal science?

[Answer] Undoubtedly. Legal science without sociology becomes a dogmatic discipline. For the development of theory and for improving legal practices it is essential that legal scholars not only be concerned with analyzing the logical

nature of legal standards and commenting on the law (which is also essential) but also studying the social aspects of law and the state. The main ones of these are: the social causality of law and its social effectiveness.

The social aspects of state construction presuppose not only a profound study of the functioning of state institutions but also the forecasting of their further development. Without sociology this cannot be done.

[Question] What are your personal scientific plans in this area?

[Answer] I hope to write a book devoted to the basic problems of the sociology of law. Many questions in this scientific area have already been worked out and it would be useful, in my view, to bring them all together.. In addition, I am continuing to work on a subject related to the nature and mechanisms of behavior which deviates from social standards. Along with co-authors, I am writing a book on the motives of criminal conduct; this will be an interdisciplinary work and will touch upon legal, psychological and sociological aspects of the problem. Hence, I am endeavoring to realize a link between legal sciences and sociology in practice.

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CSO: 1806/23

FROM THE EDITORS' MAIL

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press
19 Apr 83) pp 204-206

[Letters to the editors; since the beginning of the year the editors have received 178 articles and letters from readers]

[Text] Dear Comrades! It is very praiseworthy that the editors have constantly kept an eye on such an important socioeconomic problem as the strengthening of labor discipline. I particularly recall the informative article which was full of interesting data by A. I. Volgin "The Use of Working Time at the Enterprises of Moscow Oblast" (No 2, 1982). I also read with great benefit the article by B. P. Kutyrev "Labor Discipline: Aiming at the End Result" (No 3, 1982), where attention is quite correctly drawn to the circumstance that "it is easy to adapt to routine discipline, no matter how strict it may be, and do nothing."

The traditional subject for your journal has now become, as they say, of the day. At present, we are carrying out many measures aimed at strengthening order and discipline. As encountered the strongest support among all who sincerely are interested in the question. Exemplary order in everything is a humane, good goal. However, with regret it must be stated that certain leaders devote main attention at times to precisely the external aspect of discipline, that is, when the person arrived on the job and when he left. There is no doubt about it, all of this is important too, but, as was rightly pointed out by B. P. Kutyrev, the internal, deeper layer of discipline is much more important. A person works next to me who, from time to time, is late to work. He is the father of three children and at times he gets held up with them. But once he picks up his trowel, it doesn't leave his hand until the end of the shift. Another fellow worker arrives on time but botches things. In a word, one externally "undisciplined" worker can outdo three "disciplined ones." When I recall such facts, involuntarily the misgiving arises of how to prevent the struggle for discipline from being reduced to the formal aspect of the question. Then I recall Volgin's article as it views the state of discipline, if it can be so put, across the shifts and depending upon the hour of work (first, third and last). In my view, this is the correct approach. We feel that in planning research on labor discipline, sociologists should pay attention precisely to those characteristics of it which reflect a persons attitude toward his duties, his ability to work intensely and his capacity to achieve high end results. In

other words, the focal point should be the very essence of discipline and not its external indicators which create only the appearance of well-being.

A. M. Danil'chenkov,
Kamensk-Shakhtinskiy in Rostov Oblast

Sociological services have appeared one after another at enterprises and schools. This generally very positive phenomenon has, however, negative aspects as well. One of them is the isolation of the sociological services, the absence of a uniform methodological approach and the lack of precise recommendations. As an example, take a questionnaire of a sociological survey. How many questionnaires the sociologists make up! There are imprecisely formulated questions, an excessive number of them and small print which the respondent has difficulty in understanding. Independence is a good thing but it should aim at professionalism and not vice versa. Here, I feel, the journal SOTSILOGICHESKIY ISSLEDOVANIYA can provide enormous aid to the specialist sociologists and the volunteer sociologists.

Our laboratory for sociological research at the Order of the Honor Badge Zaporozhye Machine Building Institute imeni V. Ya. Chubar' for 15 years has been conducting research in the production collectives of Zaporozhye and the oblast. Rich material has been accumulated and on the basis of this the laboratory co-workers present their recommendations to the enterprise administrations. Many of these have been carried out and have helped to increase production efficiency, to improve the microclimate in the collective and develop the worker's personality.

Frequently, we have encountered difficulties in assessing the factors which influence the social development of a production collective. For example, take such a question as the effectiveness of indoctrination in a collective. Unfortunately, effectiveness is assessed in the literature chiefly by the number of functioning cultural institutions and by the number of measures conducted in them. The recommendations here actually come down to the planning of measures and to increasing the attendance of theaters, clubs, libraries and other cultural institutions. Other researchers consider the rational use of free time as the indicator for the effectiveness of indoctrination and study various aspects of the organizing of leisure. But a person spends a large portion of his conscious life on the job. For this reason, it is important and essential to assess the effectiveness of indoctrination in the process of labor activity. It would be a very good thing if the journal SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA would approach the question of indoctrination from precisely these positions. Thus, in the article "The Social Structure of Society and a Differentiated Approach to the Organization of Indoctrinational Activities" (No 4, 1981), A. S. Kapto voiced the completely correct opinion that "the new man is forged primarily in the process of labor activities.... The high level of mechanization and automation, the high effectiveness of production and everyday life encourage the employees to add to their knowledge, they strengthen the production contacts of people, they enrich sociopsychological relationships and help to create an atmosphere of comradeship, mutual aid and creative collaboration." The article by Zh. T. Toshchenko "Indoctrinational Work as an Object of Social Planning" (No 2, 1981) establishes the necessity of controlling and planning the indoctrination process in the production collective and sets the task of

working out a structure for the plans of communist indoctrination, the organizing of their indicators and the information support for the indoctrinational process. The article points directly to the need to work out "indicators which would reflect the results of indoctrinational activities on all levels of the labor collective" and to the importance of setting those indicators which would take into account the specific features of indoctrinational work in the concrete collective and at the same time be oriented at the use of economic and social levers.

In recent years the journal SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA several times has turned to the questions of the activities of a production collective and has examined individual aspects of indoctrinational work. This has included the articles by V. G. Britvin ("The Production-Technical Environment of an Enterprise and the Conduct of a Worker" (No 2, 1982) and "The Attitude Toward Labor Among Industrial Workers" by A. Tasev (No 3, 1981) as well as the article by O. I. Shkaratan "Labor Efficiency and the Attitude Toward Labor" (No 1, 1982). On a basis of sociological research data, the authors of these articles have determined a number of factors which influence the all-round development of the individual and the effectiveness of indoctrinating a communist attitude toward labor. Foremost is the indoctrinating influence of the production situation and the relationships in the collective. The content of the job, the working conditions, the nature of the labor, the organization of labor, the social utility of labor and the material and moral incentives for working--all of these are components in the indoctrinational process in the labor collective. The above-mentioned materials have been of substantial help for us in our work. However, the attitude toward labor is just one aspect of the question. Unfortunately, many other aspects in the indoctrinational process have not been taken up in the materials published in the journal SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA (for example, the questions of aesthetic indoctrination in the labor collective). The journal can and should help clarify the range of indicators characterizing the life of a production collective, using the enormous experience acquired by the nation's sociologists for this. In the journal we would also like to see recommendations on forming questions for sociological research at enterprises, taking into account the specific features of a questionnaire survey, the psychology of the individual and so forth. Possibly we should give some thought to a competition for the best questionnaire on a specific subject, for example, "Social Production Reserves" or "Indoctrinational Work in the Collective." One other thing: the publishing of the best questionnaires on the journal's pages would undoubtedly increase the effectiveness of the sociological services.

L. M. Kusakova
Zaporozhye

Dear Editors! Since 1974 I have been a reader of SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA. Over this time, substantial changes have occurred in the journal's contents and most importantly this has been an improved quality of the published materials. However, I would like to make one request of the editors relating to the most difficult, it seems to me, type of scientific journalism, that is, the reviewing of new books. It is usually felt that it is easy to write a review as one has merely to give the contents of the reviewed publication and state that "it will make a definite contribution...however it has

certain shortcomings...which, incidentally, do not reduce the overall high scientific level...." Unfortunatley, such texts are constantly encountered under the heading "Book Reviews." The responses written according to this formula to the new monographs are usually all "positive." Quotes are essential here because a dull review creates a dull impression, even of a good book. In my opinion, the journal greatly needs negative reviews but not in order to flippantly or maliciously tear apart conscientious works which may not be flawless but have still been done professionally (such precedents have existed and greatly damaged the authority and honor of the journal). The main thing which one must now struggle against is dilletantism, dullness and hack work which, unfortunately, is not declining in sociological research. I feel I express the opinion of many readers in advising the editors to choose as reviewers persons whose skills are least on a level of the authors of the reviewed works. In addition, it must not be forgotten that the contents of books is described sufficiently well in the abstract collections of the Institute for Scientific Information on Social Sciences under the USSR Academy of Sciences. From the journal we expect a well-reasoned, highly professional judgment of sociological studies in our nation and abroad.

G. O. Shmeyerovich
Odessa

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10272
CSO: 1806/23

REPORT-ELECTION CONFERENCE OF THE SOVIET SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

Moscow SOTSIOLICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press
19 Apr 83) pp 207-210

[Conference report by I. N. Sal'nikova]

[Text] The report-election conference of the SSA [Soviet Sociological Association] are events which provide rich material for comparative conclusions on the past, present and future of sociological science. Naturally the formulating of such conclusions is a task primarily for the newly elected association leadership as well as the collectives and workers concerned with the questions of the scientific organizational improvement of Soviet sociology. The aim of the comments published below is humbler, that is, to inform the journal's readers of the problem raised by the conference delegates relating to the development of sociological science and the proposals voiced on improving the association's activities. Certainly the comments do not claim to be a thorough assessment of the conference's work since the minutes of the sessions run to around 400 pages.

The conference was held on 1-2 February 1983 in Moscow. Participating in its work were 271 delegates representing the 7,863 individual members of the association and 976 collective ones. Among the delegates were 12 academicians, 188 professors and docents from institutions of higher learning, 56 plant sociologists and a large number of party workers. Such a representative composition made it possible to discuss the urgent questions of sociology in an authoritative and knowledgeable manner.

The introductory speech by the Vice-President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Academician P. N. Fedoseyev, emphasized the responsibility of Soviet sociologists for researching the most urgent problems in the present stage of communist construction.* The report of the SSA Board given by Kh. N. Momdzhyan was devoted to the main results of this research.

* The speech by Academician P. N. Fedoseyev is published in this issue.

In the past period covering 6 years, the activities of the SSA have been carried out under the influence of fulfilling the decisions of the 25th and 26th Party Congresses and the decrees of the CPSU Central Committee which have outlined the tasks for social sciences under present-day conditions and have obligated the Soviet sociologists to initiate fundamental and applied research on a society of developed socialism, the creation of the material and technical base of communism, on the processes of the development of social relations, communist indoctrination, the well-rounded and harmonious development of man and the socialist way of life.

In carrying out these tasks, each year the sociologists have conducted from 300 to 400 research projects and have held around 100 conferences, seminars and scientific meetings. This has made it possible for many members of the association to take an active part in working out the social development forecasts and to establish concrete recommendations for the party and economic bodies on urgent national economic problems, communist indoctrination, the retaining of personnel and so forth. Thus, a large detachment of Far Eastern sociologists has successfully taken part in working out the comprehensive "Far East" Program. The decree of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Communist Party of 19 December 1981 on further improving the organized study of public opinion and sociological research in light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress is proof of the significant work in studying public opinion as conducted by Azerbaijan sociologists. The recommendations of Georgian sociologists aimed at preventing deviant behavior have been characterized by a profound knowledge of the situation and by concreteness.

The report gave a number of facts showing the high level of the effectiveness of sociological research. The materials from the section on educational sociology were used in preparing the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers "On Further Improving the Education and Indoctrination of Students in General Education Schools and the Preparing of Them for Labor." Using materials from sociological research on personnel turnover and ensuring the stability of labor collectives, the bureau of the Kishinev gorkom has adopted a special decree. The sociological service of the Krasno Proletariy Production Association (Moscow) has made a major contribution to increasing production efficiency.

Unfortunately, neither the board's report nor the speeches gave information on the number of sociology publications. But it is apparent that these run into many hundreds. Just a bibliography of works by the Section for the Social Structure of Society Society under the Institute of Sociological Research [ISI] of the USSR Academy of Sciences runs to more than 300 titles and they are all based on the results of concrete sociological research.

The great work carried out by Soviet sociologists over the report period can also be seen in their successes on the international scene and in particular at the 9th and 10th World Sociological Congresses (see SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, No 1, 1983).

However, in positively assessing what has been done, many delegates rightly focused attention on the unsolved questions. The report pointed out that with the overall increase in the number of scientific publications and applied sociological research, as yet there has been no significant progress in

elaborating a number of fundamental theoretical and methodological problems in sociological science. The elaboration of problems in the area of social planning and forecasting lags behind the needs of practice. Public opinion is not being studied with sufficient activeness and purposefulness. There is a gap between the diversity of empirical material and the depth of its theoretical analysis and generalization. Many practical recommendations are still little effective. Serious attention was given to the poor procedural and mathematical support for the conducted research (M. Kh. Titma), to the failure to solve the problem of training students in the specialty of "sociology" in the higher school (A. D. Kosichev, D. F. Kozlov and others), the poor linkage of theoretical and empirical research and the underestimation of the problems in plant sociology (A. K. Zaytsev, V. V. Chichilimov and others) the sparseness of national and interregional sociological research following uniform programs and procedures (L. N. Kogan, V. A. Yadov), the lack of fundamental research on major problems of Marxist-Leninist sociology and so forth. V. N. Shubkin drew the delegates' attention to the moral and ethical aspect of sociological research which is closely tied to professionalism.

The lack of professionalism among a significant portion of the nation's sociological personnel discredits sociological science. Regardless of the fact that its potential has significantly increased, pointed out the Georgian delegate A. A. Gabiani in his speech, sociology is not sufficiently oriented at solving practical problems. Moreover, certain practical workers have voiced fully justified doubts as to the constructiveness of the proposed solutions.

The present stage in the development of socialism in our nation is organically tied to the posing and solving of major economic, social, political, scientific-technical and ideological problems. These were clearly formulated at the November (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. Among these are primarily: accelerating work in the area of improving the sphere of national economic leadership and converting it to a path of intensive development; creating economic and organizational conditions which would encourage highly productive labor, initiative and entrepreneurship; the unswerving observance of general state and national interests, the eradicating of departmental exclusiveness and localism, the strengthening of state and labor discipline; the carrying out of the USSR food program. As these tasks are carried out and as the nation's economic might grows, the party has set ever-larger problems in the area of social development. And this has brought about growing significance for sociological theory and research on the practical aspects of our society's social life and, naturally, the need to improve the scientific-organizational bases for the activities of the sociologists, for strengthening and developing the sociological centers and improving the work of the SSA personnel.

A majority of the delegates who spoke devoted the basic portion of their comments to the questions involved in the organizational strengthening of the association's activities in all its units, starting from the local affiliates and subsections and ending with the central bodies. This is natural for the success of any undertaking is predetermined by the level of its organization.

Over the report period the organizational structure of the SSA has grown substantially and become more complex. In each of the 17 divisions there are several scientific research sections. All in all, they number around 150.

The establishing of independent divisions is continuing. In January 1983 at the request of the CPSU Moscow Gorkom on the basis of the Moscow regional department the following independent departments were set up: the Moscow city department and the department of the Central Nonchernozem Zone of the RSFSR. The question was also settled of establishing the Department of the Central Chernozem Zone of the RSFSR with a headquarters in Voronezh and for reorganizing the Department of Central Asia and Kazakhstan into independent Kazakhstan, Kirghiz, Tajik, Turkmen and Uzbek divisions. Along with this, SSA affiliates are functioning in the republics, krays, oblasts and cities where there are over 20 individual and collective association members. At present there are 87 of them with 27 organized during the report period. Finally, the central scientific research sections under the presidium of the association's board hold an important place in the organizational structure of the SSA. At present, there are 35 of these with 11 being established over the last 6 years.

In relying on the extensive network of sociological centers which have been established and have been sufficiently strengthened in personnel terms, the association is now capable of carrying out the most complex research plans. However, these possibilities are not always fully utilized. Often the sections, affiliates and divisions of the association, on the one hand, and the laboratories, sociological chairs and even institutes, on the other, act in isolation. Thus, in the Baltic republics, research on youth is being actively conducted and the corresponding scientific collectives have been formed, but they are still not involved in the work of the central section for studying the youth (M. Kh. Titma). The Urals regularly holds sociological lectures however it has not been possible to involve the SSA leadership in organizing them (L. N. Kogan). Even the sections and sectors of the ISI of the USSR Academy of Sciences in a number of areas are outside the sphere of activity of the corresponding central scientific research sections in the association and they plan their work in their specialty independently of them.

Since the real research activities are conducted chiefly in scientific collectives, the SSA sections which are not sufficiently involved with them obviously have nothing to enter as assets. Around one-third of them (according to the conclusion of the auditing commission) exists only formally. Confirmation of this is the lack of work plans and, naturally, annual reports from the sections "Sociological Problems in the Widespread Introduction of Motor Vehicles" and "The History of Sociology." The activities of the sections "The Sociology of Science" and "Sociological Problems of Demography" have declined. For probably this reason neither the report nor the speeches took up the problems related to the involvement of sociologists in carrying out the USSR Food Program (V. I. Staroverov), although in the report period scores of scientific subdivisions and centers in the nation conducted research on the social problems of agriculture and the development of the countryside as a whole.

Another organizational shortcoming impeding the activating of sociological forces on the spot in the opinion of many delegates is related to the concentrating of work predominantly at the central institutions of the association. The SSA bylaws envisage the creation of primary organizations and groups directly in cities, rayons, VUZes, scientific research institutes and so forth. They possess the right of carrying out scientific organizational and propaganda

measures and reviewing questions related to the admitting of SSA members. Precisely these primary cells could act as active connecting links between the scientific collectives and departments as well as the sections. But at present there are just 19 such cells and this must be rightly viewed as a serious organizational oversight. Indicative in this regard is the fact that a number of divisions are little connected with their affiliates (V. G. Valentinova). In turn the divisions themselves suffer from a lack of attention from the central SSA bodies. In the speeches of Ye. M. Babosov and other delegates, instances were given where special collections of scientific papers prepared by Belorussian and Urals sociologists disappeared without a trace in the desks of the SSA board secretariat.

While positively viewing the work of the presidium of the SSA board, the delegates drew attention to the indefinite nature of individual decisions and the low level of activity on the part of many members of this leading body.

However, the main reason for shortcomings in the association's work, in the opinion of a majority of the delegates, remains the lack of a national system for VUZ training of sociological personnel. Here the basic blame rests on the USSR Ministry of Higher and Specialized and Secondary Education. At the same time, the delegates pointed out that the SSA has not shown proper tenacity on this question. Although the decisions of the two previous report and election SSA conferences pointed to the need to prepare textbooks and teaching aids on sociology and its basic disciplines, as they say, nothing has moved.

The lack of theoretical personnel is also acutely felt and to an even greater degree the shortage of applied sociologists. In the 1970's, the development of industrial sociology assumed a broad scope. The growing detachment of plant sociologists far from always has received fresh highly-skilled specialists and this has told negatively on the authority of not only the plant sociological services, but also sociology as a whole.

It cannot be said that the SSA has left the needs of this group of specialists unattended. Many regional divisions of the association such as the Urals, Leningrad, Ukrainian, Far Eastern, Moldavian, Azerbaijan and others, have organized the retraining of plant sociologists and have provided them with procedural aid. The nation knows scores of plant sociological services the contribution of which to increasing national economic efficiency is generally recognized. At present, plant sociology in terms of size has exceeded academic (V. V. Chichilimov) and has become one of the important elements of linking the latter with practice.

As industrial sociology develops, it requires ever-greater scientific organizational concern from the regional divisions, the SSA central bodies and the scientific institutions. At the same time, such attention is far from always given to the plant sociological services.

In taking up scientific organizational problems, the delegates spoke of the need to revise certain methodological concepts and procedures which were established in the 1950's and 1960's (I. T. Levykin). Moreover, the new level of tasks requires new approaches. This confronts the SSA with the necessity of reviving the practice of creative debates and becoming an active organizer of theoretical searches.

In recent years, in having focused their efforts on studying the urgent problems of communist construction, Soviet sociologists have carried out national research on the processes involved in the changing of the social structure of Soviet society, the socialist way of life and the ways of improving this. They see their most important task in disclosing the possibilities of mature socialism, the ways and means for organically linking the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and more fully utilizing the principle of a comprehensive approach to studying social processes, in drawing upon the accomplishments of disciplines related to sociology and ensuring a high ideological-political and scientific level as well as a practical focus to the research.

In sending a letter to the CPSU Central Committee, the delegates of the 5th All-Union Report-Election Conference of the SSA, on behalf of all Soviet sociologists, expressed a determination to make a weighty contribution to increasing economic efficiency, to improving social planning, ideological and political indoctrination, and improving socialist social relations.

The conference elected a new membership of the SSA board, the presidium of the SSA board and central auditing commission. Kh. N. Momdzhyan was reelected the SSA president while T. I. Zaslavskaya, N. I. Lapin, V. G. Osipov, Zh. T. Toshchenko and A. G. Kharchev were elected vice-presidents.

Reports and elections were also held in the local SSA divisions. Elected as the chairmen of the bureaus of the republic and regional divisions were: Doctor of Philosophical Sciences A. S. Shakir-zade in Azerbaijan; Corresponding Member of the Belorussian Academy of Sciences Ye. M. Babosov in Belorussia; Doctor of Philosophical Sciences S. A. Tyushkevich for the Military Division; Doctor of Economic Sciences T. G. Shavgulidze for the Georgian; Doctor of Economic Sciences G. S. Khokhlyuk for the Far Eastern; Doctor of Economic Sciences A. I. Timush for the Moldavian; Doctor of Economic Sciences V. D. Patrushev for the Moscow City Division; Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Ye. F. Molevich for the Volga; Doctor of Philosophical Sciences M. Kh. Titma for the Baltic; Doctor of Philosophical Sciences B. D. Parygin for the Leningrad (Northwestern); Doctor of Historical Sciences S. P. Goryunov for the Northern Caucasus; Academician T. I. Zaslavskaya for the Siberian; Doctor of Philosophical Sciences A. K. Valiyev for the Uzbek; Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V. F. Chernovolenko for the Ukrainian; Doctor of Philosophical Sciences L. N. Kogan for the Urals.

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10272

CSO: 1806/23

THE CONSTRUCTING AND USE OF SOCIOECONOMIC NORMS

Moscow SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press
19 Apr 83) pp 211-213

[Conference Report by V. V. Vdovenko]

[Text] An important condition for improving the economic mechanism is the creating of a normative base for the planning of socioeconomic development. The Decree of the USSR Gosplan "On a System of Progressive Technical and Economic Standards and Norms and on Measures to Introduce This into Planning" (11 January 1980) [1] was aimed at carrying out this task. In this system the socioeconomic standards and norms comprise a separate group. The problems of constructing and utilizing these standards and norms were the subject of a working conference held by the TsEMI [Central Mathematical Economics Institute] of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Scientific Research Institute for the Economy and National Economic Planning of the Lithuanian Gosplan on 21-24 September 1982 in Vilnius.

Without claiming to analyze all aspects of the discussion of these problems, let us take up the main ones.

General principles of socioeconomic norming. Papers on this subject were represented by the reports of N. M. Rimashevskaya "Social Standards as an Instrument of Distribution and Planning," R. Kh. Simonyan "Socioeconomic Norms in Planning," O. L. Rogova "The Place of Socioeconomic Norms in the National Economic Plan," V. I. Gerchikov "The Problem of Norming Social Indicators" and others.

In the current planning system, the speakers pointed out, socioeconomic norms are viewed as planning guidelines and the basis for calculating the base indicators. However, these norms, as a rule, are of a partial nature and are worked outside the general concept of improving prosperity. This substantially restricts the possibility of utilizing them in planning.

At the same time, the elaboration of concrete social programs requires a precise definition of the objects of social planning. For this out of the entire complex of social problems, it has been proposed that we isolate those social needs the satisfying of which requires specific economic planning measures.

In this group could be put the social requirements the satisfying of which is an essential condition for the further functioning and development of socialist

production. N. M. Rimashevskaya has proposed uniting the designated social needs as well as the minimum wage under the term "social guarantees." The latter should become a portion and possibly the basic subsystem of the socio-economic standards and norms.

Social guarantees are specific aims of society on the national economic level. By their nature they are of a normative character but in contrast to the rational standards represent the minimum acceptable levels of ensuring the satisfying of the various needs of the population.

One cannot help but agree with V. N. Rutgayzer who emphasized that many rational consumption standards perform a sole role as a long-range norm and are not an instrument of short-term planning. With good reason the further discussion of the conference participants devolved around the questions of constructing these two types of norms.

Methods of elaborating individual socioeconomic norms were presented in the reports of I. M. Ayzinova, V. I. Yepifantsev, K. K. Karatashova, I. V. Korkhova, L. D. Pavlichenko, N. M. Pavlova, V. V. Patsiorkovskiy, O. A. Rakovskaya and R. T. Barukova, I. M. Shneyderman and others. The speakers took up the questions of constructing the socioeconomic norms for minimum wages, pension coverage, housing availability, the services of public health and cultural institutions, preschool education, domestic and utility services.

Wages are the most important element in family income. They determine the consumption of not only the workers themselves, but also the members of their families. For this reason the minimum wage is a socioeconomic category. Economically the minimum wage is linked to a certain range of goods and services which is essential for the reproduction of the manpower of a worker engaged in simple labor. The social nature of the minimum wage consists in the need to guarantee a level of a minimum range of consumption corresponding at the same time to minimally acceptable living conditions and to the overall level of satisfying demands achieved in a society. Hence, as O. A. Rakovskaya feels, the calculating of a normed minimum wage presupposes, in the first place, the determining of the minimum range of consumption and, secondly, a solution to the problem of what the minimum wage should cover in terms of the consumption of what number of family members, that is, what amount of the family burden should be carried by one worker in simple labor. All of this presupposes a close link of the socioeconomic standards and norms with the standards and norms for labor expenditures and wages.

Pensions are another very important group of social standards. The essence of the socioeconomic norms set in pension coverage is determined by the dual nature of pensions as subsistence support provided to nonworking persons through the public consumption funds and at the same time carrying traits of the basic law of distribution inherent to socialism. Hence the close link of pensions with the planned wage levels.

In pension coverage M. N. Pavlova proposed establishing three basic norms. These would be the minimum amount of the pension, its maximum level and an indicator characterizing the ratio of the average pension with average wages.

Common to the designated norms is a direct link with wages and this determines their absolute and relative amount and ensures mobility over time.

Similar paths were also proposed in working out other norms. For example, in the aim of systematizing the allocating of housing, K. K. Kartashova proposed moving from the norming of new housing in terms of the number of rooms to the norming of apartment categories, proceeding from the number of family members. The legislating of apartment categories which would be uniform for designing and allocation would create favorable conditions for improving the latter.

As was pointed out by L. D. Pavlichenko, with the aid of the socioeconomic norms for housing availability, a permanently operating mechanism should be established not only for allocating but, most importantly, for reallocating housing. This mechanism would provide housing conditions of a normative level both at the moment the housing was received as well as over the entire subsequent life of a person.

The speech of V. V. Patsiorkovskiy emphasized that for working out consumption norms for cultural goods and services, it is essential to know the following parameters: the patterns in the forming of leisure activities; the resource characteristics of various sociodemographic groups of the population; the culture accessibility conditions in families, cities and regions. The indicators for the assimilation of culture, in characterizing the "average" representatives of a group the members of which have the same resource availability and are under similar conditions, were proposed to be viewed as social consumption norms ("lower limits") inherent to the given social group. Understandably, the norms obtained in this manner would differ substantially from rational norms, as these are based on data correlated to the actually existing behavior of the population in the consumption sphere.

Normative consumer budgets and rational standards. This group of papers was represented by reports by E. B. Gilinskaya, E. T. Kagalovskaya, A. Misyunas, A. A. Ovsyannikov, Yu. P. Samulyavichyus, Yu. R. Khodosh and others. Those present gave basic attention to examining the questions related to the use of normative consumer budgets in regional social planning.

The socioeconomic needs of the population are shaped under the influence of a large aggregate of factors and certain of these differ substantially in the regions of the nation. Among the factors which determine territorial differences in the socioeconomic needs of the population and expenditures on the reproduction of the labor force, the following were pointed out: natural-climatic conditions, the sex and age composition of the population, the size and structure of families, population density, the nature of settlement, differences in prices for goods and rates for services, particular features in the national way of life and the traditions of the population.

As was pointed out in the course of the conference, the elaboration of a system of socioeconomic standards and norms presupposes a general and differentiated (in sociodemographic and territorial breakdowns) evaluation of the population's needs. Two basic methodological approaches were pointed out to solve htis problem: the normative and the behavioral (this dilemma was formulated in the

clearest and most complete form in the report of A. A. Ovsyannikov). While with the normative approach ultimately the conclusion of an expert evaluation or at best the consumption of "standard" groups are to be used as the basis, the behavioral approach requires the elaboration of consumption standards and norms considering the actual behavior of families in various sociodemographic groups. The first of these approaches was at the center of attention of participants in the All-Union Practical Scientific Seminar "The Normative Approach in Social Planning" held in Perm (1980) [2], while much was said about the second one in Vilnius.

The conference materials and the experience of working out socioeconomic standards make it possible to look somewhat differently at the problem of social indicators. "The movement for social indicators" to which so much space has recently been given in our sociological science is sometimes viewed as the basic way of introducing sociological knowledge into social planning practices. However, the planning and management bodies need not the indicators themselves but rather their values (points or intervals in cost or physical terms) which can be employed in planning as norms, units of accounting or control. From this viewpoint, the creation of a system of social development indicators is the initial stage of social planning and this will become a reality only on the basis of working out and introducing a system of socioeconomic standards and norms.

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10272

CSO: 1806/23

PREVENTION OF JUVENILE OFFENSES

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press
19 Apr 83) pp 213-214

[Conference Report by I. F. Dement'yeva]

[Text] "The family as a factor in forming the asocial behavior of a juvenile." This problem was the subject of a national conference prepared by two sections of the Soviet Sociological Association [SSA]: social problems of the family and everyday life (leader, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences A. G. Kharchev) and social problems of deviant conduct (leader, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences B. M. Levin). Participating in the conference's work were representatives from the Academy of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], the All-Union Institute for Studying the Causes and Working Out Measures to Prevent Crime, the Vilnius Higher Party School, the Institute for General and Pedagogical Psychology of the USSR APN [Academy of Pedagogical Sciences], the TsEMI [Central Mathematical Economics Institute] of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the Scientific-Research Institute of the USSR TsSU [Central Statistical Administration], the Institute of Philosophy and Law of the Latvian Academy of Sciences, the section for family and marriage of the Moscow Soviet as well as instructors from institutions of higher learning of Moscow, Tomsk, Kolomna as well as Latvia, Lithuania and Turkmenia.

Giving the basic report was the head of the Chair of the Academy of the USSR MVD, Doctor of Legal Sciences G. M. Min'kovskiy. In employing comparative data obtained by sociologists from the socialist countries, the speaker convincingly showed that insufficient attention by society to certain features in the development of the modern family can contribute to the forming of negative trends in its way of life and, ultimately, lead to mistakes in indoctrinational activities. The section head of the Scientific Research Institute of the TsSU, Candidate of Economic Sciences A. G. Volkov analyzed such crime-causing factors as widowhood, divorce, the decline in the number of children, unpleasant relationships between parents.

Specific aspects of the upbringing of the younger generation in the Central Asian republics was described in his speech by the chair head of the Ashkabad Medical Institute, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences O. I. Musayev. Using the example of Tajikistan, he showed how migration processes related to the moving of rural inhabitants into the cities create grounds for negative phenomena which are traditionally alien to the Tajik family (alcoholism, antisocial conduct and divorces).

The questions of improving the methodology of family research were taken up in the speech by the senior science associate of the Scientific Research Institute of the TsSU, Doctor of Economic Sciences A. G. Vishnevskiy. The value system changes with changes in social conditions and the sociologists working in this area should consider the real difficulties which the family encounters. In particular, it must be considered that many situations occur when both divorce and abortion are completely justified on the social level, the speaker pointed out.

It is hard to overestimate the role of the family in shaping the attitude of the juvenile toward such a widespread evil as alcoholism. The section head of the Scientific Center for Research on Administrative Problems of the Academy of the USSR MVD, Doctor of Legal Sciences G. G. Zaigrayev, in relying on data from concrete research, showed that the lack of restraint in the consumption of alcoholic beverages in the parental family is the crucial factor in introducing the youth to alcohol. In continuing the discussion about alcoholism as a family problem, the science associate of the All-Union Institute for the Study of the Causes and for Working Out Measures to Prevent Crime in the USSR, Candidate of Legal Sciences G. V. Antonov-Romanovskiy drew attention to the ability of alcohol to psychologically estrange the spouses and thus create a pre-divorce situation.

The assistant at the Chair of Pedagogics and Psychology at the Kolomna Pedagogical Institute Ye. A. Saraf'yan, in analyzing deviant conduct in older preschoolers and young school children, emphasized the need to begin the prevention of asocial juvenile conduct even in late preschool age.

All the speakers commented on the fruitfulness of interdisciplinary contacts between scientists and specialists.

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10272

CSO: 1806/23

CURRENT EVENTS

Moscow SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press
19 Apr 83) pp 214-216

[Current events in the sociological sphere]

[Text] During the annual session of the General Meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences (March 1983), a session was held devoted to the 165th birthday and the centennial of the death of K. Marx. Academician P. N. Fedoseyev gave a report on the life and activities of K. Marx. The Plenum of the USSR Academy of Sciences instructed the Soviet Association of Political Sciences and the Institute for the International Workers Movement to hold a special session in the first half of 1983 on "The Influence of the Ideas of Karl Marx on Modern Political Theory." The co-workers from the academy scientific institutions should take an active part in preparing materials on the life and activities of K. Marx for the mass information media. There are plans to publish books and organize scientific conferences, symposiums and other measures.

O. I. Baladina

This is the seventh year now where under the Perm CPSU obkom there has been a scientific procedural center on the problems of labor collectives. Its members include the party and Komsomol obkoms, the oblispolkom, the sociological services of the local enterprises, the VUZes and scientific research institutions. The charter of this volunteer consultative body points out that the main purpose of the center is to generalize the work practices of the party organizations in the area of further raising the role of the labor collectives in the communist indoctrination of the workers, to coordinate sociological research, to work out practical recommendations and to disseminate advanced experience of the best collectives of the enterprises, construction sites, kol-khozes and sovkhozes in the oblast. Over the last 3 years alone, the scientific-procedural center has prepared more than a score questions for discussion by the bureau of the CPSU obkom. These have included: "On the Work of the Party Committee at the Perm Telephone Plant to Increase the Labor and Social Activities of the Workers," "On the Work of the Berezniki City Party Organization in Propagandizing Lenin's Ideological Heritage," "On the Work of the Industrialniy Party Raykom in Perm to Carry Out the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee 'On Further Improving Ideological and Political Indoctrination,'" and so forth.

A. G. Antip'yev

"The 26th CPSU Congress, the 19th Komsomol Congress and the Urgent Tasks of Political Indoctrination for the Youth." This problem was the subject of an all-Union theoretical scientific conference (in Ufa) organized by the Soviet Sociological Association, the USSR Philosophical Society, the Bashkir Komsomol Obkom and the Ufa Aviation Institute imeni S. Ordzhonikidze. Participating in the conference were scientists, teachers of VUZes, sociologists, psychologists and Komsomol workers. Particular attention was devoted to the questions of the ideological-political, moral and aesthetic indoctrination of the students. Within the conference under the leadership of N. A. Aitov, a roundtable session was held devoted to the problems of social planning and forecasting.

A. V. Benifand

In January 1983, in Moscow there was a seminar school on the problems of demographic analysis as organized by state and academy scientific centers, the Komsomol Central Committee and the USSR Gosplan. Participating in the work of the school were young scientists from all the Union republics. Giving lectures and papers to them were the co-worker of the USSR Gosplan Yu. N. Paleyev, the head of the Demography Section of the ISI [Institute of Sociological Research] of the USSR Academy of Sciences L. L. Rybakovskiy, as well as well-known scientists and specialists such as Ye. M. Andreyeva, V. A. Borisova, A. G. Volkov, G. P. Il'ina, L. V. Makarova, V. D. Shapiro and others. In the lectures and seminar exercises, basic attention was given to procedural questions in analyzing primary demographic information. A decision was taken to hold such seminars annually.

L. S. Shilova

The ISI of the USSR Academy of Sciences together with the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee, the Goskomtrud [State Committee for Labor and Social Problems], the AUCCTU, the All-Union Council of NTO [Scientific-Technical Society] and the Higher Komsomol School under the Komsomol Central Committee will hold an all-Union practical scientific conference on "Ways of Further Developing and Increasing the Effectiveness of Socioeconomic Planning in Labor Collectives, Sectors and Regions." The conference will be held in June 1983 in Moscow. The theses of the speeches (up to five type-written pages) must be sent to the conference organizing committee, as follows: Building 5, Krzhizhanovskiy Street 24/35, Moscow, V-259.

In Novosibirsk a conference was held on "The Historical Development of the Siberian Peoples." In particular, reports and papers by local sociologists were heard. During the conference there was a session of the regional interdepartmental commission on coordinating interdisciplinary socioeconomic, medical-biological and linguistic research on the development problems of the Northern nationalities. The commission adopted a decision to hold a national conference in Novosibirsk (September 1983) on "The Nationalities of the North: Results and Prospects of Economic and Social Development."

R. P. Zvereva, T. I. Nechipurenko

In Moscow, a practical scientific conference was held on "The Structure and Patterns of the Creative Process"; this was organized by the Section for the Sociology of Creativity under the Local Division of the USSR Philosophical Society. D. F. Kozlov and N. A. Vengerenko gave extensive reports at the conference. The participants discussed the urgent problems of increasing worker

creative activities in light of the tasks posed by the November (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. An analysis was made of the experience of sociological research on mass worker creativity as acquired in the Bashkir ASSR. The next practical scientific conference on the questions of creativity is to be held in Ufa.

S. N. Semenov

The Komsomol Central Committee, the ISI of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Scientific Research Center of the Higher Komsomol School under the Komsomol Central Committee at the end of last year held an exercise for the young scientist school on the subject "Urgent Problems of Scientific Research on the Questions of the Communist Indoctrination of Youth." The school participants called for the creating of research associations under all the Komsomol central committees of the Union republics, the Komsomol kraykoms and obkoms and also proposed that research be conducted on the spot following standard procedures worked out by the head scientific institutions.

V. V. Bovkun

In Gurzuf an all-Union seminar school for young sociologists has completed its work. It was organized by the Komsomol Central Committee together with the ISI of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The young scientists representing all the Union republics heard a series of lectures devoted to the urgent problems of Soviet society's social development and the realizing of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. Speaking to the students were the sociologists E. P. Andreyev, A. A. Baymbetov, V. V. Vityuk, V. S. Korobeynikov, I. T. Levykin, N. S. Mansurov, G. A. Slesarev, O. I. Shkaratan and others. Lively discussions developed in the seminar exercises on the questions of improving and developing the social structure of Soviet society, ideological and political indoctrination and industrial sociology. The Section "Sociological Problems of Journalism" was conducted within the seminar school under the leadership of M. T. Panchenko (Moscow State University).

I. A. Sosunova

In Gurzuf during the school of young sociologists, a meeting was held between the readers of the journal SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA, authors and editorial staff. The meeting was opened by a member of the journal's editorial board I. T. Levykin. Those present were told about the editors' creative plans by the Deputy Editor-in-Chief G. S. Batygin and the executive secretary V. A. Popov. The Junior Science Associate at the Institute for Philosophy and Law under the Armenian Academy of Sciences G. A. Pogosyan shared his experience of collaborating with the editors and took up the demands which are made on scientific publications in sociological publishing. The participants of the meeting discussed the recent issues of the journal and made a number of critical comments and requests aimed at improving the editors' work.

N. Ye. Bel'mesova

In Sverdlovsk, a celebration was held for the Honored Scientist of the RSFSR, Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, Professor and Head of the Chair for the Theory of Scientific Communism and Sociology at Urals State University imeni A. M. Gorky, the Chairman of the Board of the Urals Division of the SSA L. N. Kogan on the occasion of his 60th birthday. L. N. Kogan was warmly congratulated by the administration of the ISI of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the

presidium of the SSA Board and the scientific community. The editors of the journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA join in these congratulations, in noting the many years of work by L. N. Kogan as a member of the editorial board and our constant author.

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10272

CSO: 1806/23

SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN IDEOLOGICAL WORK

Moscow SOTSIOLICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press
19 Apr 83) pp 218-220

[Review by A. M. Kovtun of the book "Sotsiologicheskiye issledovaniya v ideologicheskoy raboty" (Sociological Research in Ideological Work) by V. I. Volovich, Kiev, Politizdat Ukrainskaya, 1981, 175 pages]

[Text] The need to apply sociological research in practical party work in the aim of further strengthening its scientific bases and for a systematic and profound study of the ideological processes occurring in society is presently not disputed by anyone. At the same time, the lack of experience in conducting such research and the absence of the professional knowledge needed for this among the workers of the party organizations have limited the opportunities of obtaining up-to-date and reliable information which is of important significance for taking effective management decisions. This is why we should note the publishing of a book which generalizes the acquired experience and makes one of the first attempts at a philosophical analysis of the specific features in the methodology and methods of research and provides recommendations to improve these.

In analyzing the activities of the Dnepropetrovsk, Donetsk, Chernigov, Poltava, Zaporozhye and certain other oblast party organizations in the Ukraine, the author proposes a typology for the structure of scientific subdivisions involved in research and acquaints the reader with the subject and results of the latter. Using specific materials, a number of examples are given of how sociological information obtained in the process of well-planned research carried on a high ideological and theoretical level makes it possible to avoid subjectivism and mistakes in taking decisions and to work out correct forms and methods for improving party leadership.

In pointing out the positive changes, Volovich at the same time does not skip many shortcomings. Thus, up to now there are no criteria and a system of indicators for the effectiveness of political indoctrination and there is an acute need for fundamental research based upon a profound analysis of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the ideological process and for actively introducing communist awareness into the activities of the working masses. In other words, along with broadening the subject and scale of research, it is also essential to improve its quality. This can be achieved, in the author's opinion, by the

fuller utilization of heuristic principles of Marxist-Leninist philosophy. In a section specially devoted to the designated problem and entitled "Historical Materialism as a Methodology of Scientific Social Research" the structure and functions of Marxist-Leninist sociology are analyzed and methodologically based principles are derived for constructing a research program, for operationalizing the concepts subject to verification and for working out methods which are adequate to the subject and rules for collecting representative information.

As a whole the author has succeeded in providing a general description of the basic methods for studying the facts of social conscience and conduct of people, although not all the methods for collecting primary information have been examined in sufficient completeness. Of interest are the methodological approaches formulated in the course of analyzing the research activities of the founders of Marxism-Leninism. The questions of the correctness of applying various procedures depending upon the subject and conditions of research are widely illustrated by examples from actual ideological work. Among the merits of the monograph one should also put that here the author has analyzed in detail the shortcomings which are still frequently encountered in research practices and typical errors and fluctuations are thoroughly analyzed.

In the section "Ideological Indoctrination as an Object of Sociological Research," the reader has an opportunity to become acquainted with the "techniques" of scientific studies, that is, with the methodology and methods in action, and to trace how a unity of various levels of sociological cognition is achieved, that is: the philosophical-sociological teachings of Marxism, special sociological theories and the methods of an empirical study of ideological indoctrination. The same section discloses the content of the basic concept of the ideological process, the general features of which are concretized in empirically fixed indicators.

The author analyzes in detail a whole series of practical questions, such as: how to construct a questionnaire, what "units" should be included in it without fail in order to disclose the level of knowledge convictions and activity, and in the aggregate of factors determining the communist ideological loyalty of persons and so forth. Having thus sketched in the general procedural requirements, Volovich moves on to the questions of methods in terms of one specific problem, the studying of ideological indoctrination aimed at instituting socialist labor discipline. The author sets out the procedure for organizing and conducting the research, he provides an informative interpretation of the obtained results and voices ideas on the possible corrections in indoctrinational work considering the collected data. The procedures proposed and tested out by the author for sampling objects to be investigated, for collecting and processing the information are undoubtedly of interest to sociologists concerned with studying this timely problem in the communist indoctrination of workers.

The monograph ends with a section devoted to a criticism of certain schools in modern bourgeois sociology. Their scientific flimsiness, methodological impotence and anticomunist focus are shown. In analyzing various bourgeois socio-logical doctrines, Volovich isolates the common factor characterizing them: an idealism and, consequently, a negation of social development patterns, pluralism, descriptiveness, small unimportant subject matter, a speculativeness of conclusions and pragmatism.

In conclusion, we would point out certain shortcomings which are inherent to the reviewed book. According to the author's plan, in it chief attention has been focused on the theoretical and procedural questions in studying ideological problems. However, a solving of these problems to a significant degree depends upon how fully the content of the studied object has been brought out (in the given instance, ideology and ideological activities), that is, its essence, structure and functions. This aspect has not been properly taken up on the monograph's pages and this evidently explains the fact that a number of areas in ideological work have escaped the author's purview. In particular, he has not examined such problems as the relationship of ideological and other types of social activity, the work style of ideological personnel, ideological institutes and institutions, and the creation of empirical indicators for the effectiveness of individual types of ideological indoctrination. Regardless of the designated oversights, the book is a substantial step ahead in increasing the effectiveness of sociological research on ideological and political indoctrination.

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10272

CSO: 1806/23

SOCIAL PLANNING IN THE USSR

Moscow SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press
19 Apr 83) pp 220-221

[Review by T. K. Kasumov of the book "Sotsial'noye planirovaniye v SSSR"
(Social Planning in the USSR) by Zh. T. Toshchenko, Moscow, Politizdat, 1981,
320 pages]

[Text] In recent decades our nation has acquired significant experience in the social planning area. In truth, it has not assumed the same distribution and development in all levels of society's organization. Having become a norm of life in the labor collectives, basically the industrial enterprises and associations, social planning on a level of all society as well as on the intermediate level of territorial and sectorial still encounters a large number of unresolved problems.

The "raising" of sectorial and territorial planning for social development up to a level achieved in the labor collectives and a further development and increased effectiveness of social plans in all spheres of social life require first of all a thorough study and generalization of the existing experience. In this context of interest is the monograph by Zh. T. Toshchenko devoted to an analysis of the theoretical and practical problems of social planning.

Using extensive factual material, the author shows the genesis of social planning in our country the essence of which, in his opinion, consists in a scientifically based determining of the goals, indicators and quotas (dates, rates and proportions) for the development of social processes and in working out the basic means for implementing them in the interests of the working class and all the workers of socialist society (p 66). From this definition derives the basic range of problems on which the author focuses his attention. In our view, Toshchenko quite correctly proposes viewing the objects of planning both in a functional breakdown (relations, social processes and social institutions) as well as on the various levels of society's social organization. Such an approach makes it possible to encompass all social life and solve social problems on a comprehensive basis.

The work emphasizes that the goals of social development, social progress and social planning do not always coincide. The latter are derived from the former, they are an important component of them however they cannot be reduced to them. The aim of social planning should not be restricted to just an increased

standard of living or the efficiency of social production, as has been done in certain works. The monograph's author also disputes the viewpoint according to which social planning is linked to the all-round and harmonious development of the individual. In Toshchenko's valid comment, it pursues a somewhat different goal, namely the achieving of social equality and social homogeneity.

Social development, as is pointed out in the book, can be expressed in certain indicators and for establishing these it is essential to designate the main and intermediate goals, that is, construct a "tree of goals" for the various organizational levels of society. It is a pity that this theoretical concept is not analyzed in more detail in the book. In our view, if the author had defined the tasks of social planning, if he had established the subordination of goals and tasks for all its levels and indicated their intercausality using the example of some sphere of social life, the work would have undoubtedly benefited from this.

For more effectively combining the sectorial and territorial planning indicators, Toshchenko has proposed viewing the way of life, the production and social infrastructure as the basic planning objects on the territorial level of society's social organization. In fact, being a synthesizing concept, the way of life provides an opportunity to characterize all human activity which is typical of a given society. It operates primarily as an integral indicator characterizing the method of organizing social life under historically concrete socioeconomic conditions. The establishing of the way of life as an object of social planning and the creating of an ordered system of its indicators makes it possible to provide a comprehensive approach to planning social processes on all levels. Linked to the effective elaboration of the given areas to a certain degree is the development of socialist planning as an integrated system which presupposes a strengthening of the organic relationship between the economic and social, general-state, sectorial and territorial plans and the coordinating of all these plans with the social development plans of the collectives.

An important aspect in the methodological principle of the book's author comes down the demand of considering in detail in the social development plans what a person can give to production and what production can do for a worker. The realization of these ideas requires that the social development plans take up one other circumstance, that is, the labor and social activity of people. Only with such an approach can social planning reconcile the interests of the collective, individual and society and increase the concreteness and effectiveness of social plans on all levels of social organization.

The concluding chapter of Toshchenko's monograph is devoted to the basic principles of defining the economic and social effectiveness of the plans. The author links this primarily with the defining of the goal of society's social development at one or another stage and also in achieving a certain level of social organization. The book emphasizes that a very urgent task is now to introduce accounting indicators into social planning practices and improve the system for monitoring their realization. Toshchenko rightly links the setting of the effectiveness level of social planning with a quantitative determination of the degree of attaining the social development goals on the various levels and in a certain sequence.

Unfortunately, a whole series of important social planning questions have been overlooked by the author while certain ones have been examined very cursorily and superficially. This is primarily the particular features of planning under rural conditions and the problems of the way of life as an object of the social development plan. Little attention has also been given to the questions of combining the sectorial and territorial plans. However, these shortcomings in no way reduce the value of the reviewed monograph which sums up what has been done by Soviet sociologists in the theory and practice of social planning. With his new book, Toshchenko has substantially enriched the results of studying one of the most important problems in sociological science.

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10272

CSO: 1806/23

PUBLIC EDUCATION IN A DEVELOPED SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press
19 Apr 83) pp 227-229

[Review by F. R. Aleksandrov of the book "Narodnoye obrazovaniye v razvitetom sotsialisticheskem obshchestve" (Public Education in a Developed Socialist Society) by A. K. Karypkulov, Frunze, Kyrgyzstan, 1982, 448 pages]

[Text] The reviewed book (the scientific editor was L. N. Kogan) came out during the noteworthy year of the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, when the flourishing and integration of the Soviet nations in all areas of their economic, social, political and spiritual life appeared particularly apparent and impressive in the eyes of the entire world. On the basis of thoroughly analyzing the development of public education in a mature socialist society, in particular using the materials of Kirghizia where the people, having surmounted age-old backwardness have risen to the heights of modern culture, the author has succeeded in showing the social significance of the fundamental changes in the examined sphere of social life. Here he has brought out aspects which hitherto have been very little worked out but are of great theoretical and practical significance. These are: the role of the educational significance in the flourishing and integration of the Soviet nations; the particular features of the establishment and functioning of this system in the republics of the Soviet East which have made the transition to socialism, in bypassing capitalism; the role of the school in acquainting the younger generation with Russian as a means of international intercourse voluntarily chosen by all the Soviet peoples, and so forth.

The author has analyzed extensive data from national and republic statistics and the results of a number of sociological studies and has generalized the practical experience of the primary schools, vocational-technical schools, specialized secondary and higher institutions of learning in Kirghizia. The monograph has reanalyzed many important stages in the development of the public education system in the public. In Kirghizia the population of which was almost completely illiterate at the beginning of the 1920's and where a written language was absent, at present there is universal secondary education, vocational-technical and specialized secondary education is developing and the higher school has attained true flourishing. For example, characteristic are the following facts provided in the book: the first graduating class of teachers with a higher education in the republic numbered just 46 persons (including 13 Kirkhiz). At present, the republic's schools each year receive

3,000-3,500 teachers with a higher education and up to 1,500 with a specialized secondary education. Over the last 10 years, Kirghizia has trained over 20,000 young pedagogues including 17,000 with a higher education. Also remarkable are the changes in the distribution of the 8th and 9th-grade graduates: in 1977, only 10 percent of them was admitted to the secondary PTU [vocational-technical school] and in 1980, almost 18 percent. Of great interest are the data on the change in the social composition of the students: in the 1981-1982 school year, students from the republic's working class and kolkhoz peasantry comprised 59 percent while in the 1968-1969 school year they were 47 percent (p 384).

However, the author has not limited himself to stating the profound changes in the public education system and in its social functions and inherent to Soviet Kirkhizia because of the historical development features. Karypkulov draws broad generalizations among which, in our view, the following must be pointed out. First of all the author's interpretation of the need for education. In scientific literature, the given question has been repeatedly raised, although predominantly on a socioeconomic level (see the works of B. M. Levin, Yu. N. Kozyrev, D. I. Zyuzin and others). An interpretation has been proposed whereby the population's need for education was viewed as society's need for skilled, educated personnel only transformed in the conscience and conduct of people. From the viewpoint of the author of the reviewed book, the need for education is a component part of a deeper and more fundamental need for the complete and all-round development of the individual. Such an approach is valid all the more as the turning of education into an internal need for the individual is viewed by him as a complex, dialectically contradictory process. However, the latter obviously must be analyzed considering the changing objective needs of a developed socialist society and not only in the area of production and material social relations but also in ideological relations. The author correctly emphasizes that it would be wrong to reduce the social need for education merely to production requirements, overlooking the broad spectrum of social needs inherent to a socialist society. However, this idea is not always realized in the book with sufficient completeness.

A significant portion of the book is devoted to the role of education in the development of nationality relations in a mature socialist society and the improving of its socioclass structure. The given aspect which has been relatively little worked out in the literature has made it possible for the author to have a new approach to solving a broad range of problems, including very urgent ones. Among these are: the appearance of uneven development of education in the various regions of the nation as a whole and in Kirghizia; shortcomings in the teaching of Russian to school children; flaws in the combining of the job instruction for youth and its participation in socially useful, productive labor and so forth. Unfortunately, the book mentions only in passing the negative aspects in the development of the secondary school (manifestations of subjectivism in carrying out the public education reform at the end of the 1970's, poorly conceived changes in the content of the curriculums which caused an overloading of the students and were criticized at the 26th CPSU Congress).

A special chapter is devoted to the increased role played by public education in the communist indoctrination of the youth. The author examines in detail the underlying principle of the Soviet public education system, that is, the unity

of instruction and indoctrination and he describes an interesting experiment in a number of the republic's rayons and gives impressive figures and facts. In the Kirkhiz school, the book states, in the 1981-1982 academic year, there were around 1,000 metal and woodworking shops and over 500 labor labs; the work of the school children was organized on the basis of the ties between the articles and great attention was given to studying technical specifications. In 574 schools, the senior graders study driving and during the 10th Five-Year Plan over 40,000 graduates from the rural schools acquired the skill of tractor driver 3d class, equipment operator and driver. On a number of farms, 80-90 percent of the workers obtained their initial vocational training in the local secondary schools. In 1981, the republic had 850 student production brigades with more than 42,000 students. Thousands of senior graders spend their summer vacations in labor and rest camps and in 1980 their labor contribution was more than 2.5 million rubles. A profound awareness on the part of the school children of the social importance of the work done is one of the most important factors in the shaping of their ideology.

The author has examined the questions of the forming of the moral make-up of the youth in close unity with their ideological-political and labor indoctrination. In this context, the indoctrinational significance of the study of literature, history and other humanitarian discipline in the secondary school is clearly brought out. Their underestimation and the primacy of natural sciences as defended by some end up, as is known, with serious flaws in the moral development of the individual. The arguments put forward by the author again convince one of this.

The book devotes a large place to the role of public education in the internationalizing of our nation's social life. Here is just one of the facts given: at the Toktogul Affiliate of the Frunze Polytechnical institute located in the construction zone of a GES, 309 students were trained including 106 Kirkhiz, 136 Russians, 17 Ukrainians, 18 Tatars, 11 Uzbeks, 3 Kazakhs and 18 of other nationalities. "Joint labor, study and recreation in the multinational collective contributed to the eradicating of national exclusiveness and prejudices and to a strengthening of a spirit of fraternity and friendship between the representatives of the different nationalities. It was established that of the 1,064 marriages registered here, 438 were mixed ones" (p 305).

In conclusion we would like to point out one important circumstance. The book's author, a corresponding member of the Kirkhiz Academy of Sciences, fortuitously combines in himself the qualities of a scientist and a practical worker. He knows about public education problems not from heresay and he draws his information not just from theoretical treatises and statistical collections. Many of the proposals advanced in the monograph have been tested out or realized with the direct involvement of A. K. Karypkulov. This is one other major argument for highly praising the reviewed work.

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10272
CSO: 1806/23

INTELLIGENTSIA AND SOCIAL PROGRESS IN THE DEVELOPING ASIAN AND AFRICAN NATIONS

Moscow SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press
19 Apr 83) pp 229-232

[Review by A. D. Litman of the book "Intelligentsiya i sotsial'nyy progress v razvivayushchikhsya stranakh Azii i Afriki" (The Intelligentsia and Social Progress in the Developing Asian and African Countries) edited by V. F. Li, Moscow, Nauka, 1981, 325 pages]

[Text] In the range of orientalist research of recent years, sociological analysis of the specific components in the socioclass structure of the developing Asian and African countries has assumed an everwider scale. In 1975, the collective work "Sredniye sloi gorodskogo obshchestva v stranakh Vostoka" [Middle Strata in Urban Society in the Nations of the East] [2] was published and later the questions of the class dynamics of this region were reflected in the collection "Issledovaniya sotsiologicheskikh problem razvivayushchikhsya stran" [Research on Sociological Problems in Developing Countries] [3] as well as in the recently published second volume of the three-volume "Zarubezhnyy Vostok i sovremennost'" [The Foreign East and Modern Times] [5]. The reviewed work is a new step ahead in working out this subject. The monograph is devoted to the national intelligentsia of the liberated countries.

The need for such a general work has long been felt, since without an elucidation of the real sociohistorical role of the intelligentsia, many essential aspects in the political and ideological processes occurring in the liberated nations have remained undisclosed and likewise certain particular features of national liberation revolutions as a whole. The author proceeds here from the Leninist methodological concept that "the intelligentsia is called the intelligentsia because it most consciously, most decisively and most accurately reflects and expresses the development of class interests and political groupings in all society" [1].

Having elucidated the genesis, composition and place of the intelligentsia in the social life of the developing countries, the authors trace its role in the sociopolitical struggle, in the formation of ideological trends and in the rise of the national culture of peoples and, finally, analyze the positions of various groups of the intelligentsia toward the ideological expansion of neo-colonialism and toward the bourgeois theories of the "political modernization" of the Asian and African countries. Using extensive factual material and drawing on a large number of sources, it has been shown that the intelligentsia in

the liberated countries possesses an enormous creative and constructive potential the realization of which is accompanied by a most acute ideological and political struggle. In the course of this struggle, intense processes occur of social differentiation and the political demarcation of the national intelligentsia with variations running from opposition to liberal conformism. Along with this the authors have pointed out that the intelligentsia in the socialist oriented countries in the majority is an ally of the workers and primarily the working class in the struggle to create a new society.

Of great theoretical significance is the second section of the book which contains a thorough analysis of the place and role of the intelligentsia in the political life of the Eastern countries, where the representatives of the intelligentsia have been the expressors of the awakened political self-awareness and the organizers and inspirers of the anticolonial revolutionary changes.

The winning of national independence by a number of Asian and African countries has substantially altered the political status of the intelligentsia. The authors have shown that of the most important significance was the shifting of the center of gravity from the representing of general national interests to expressing the interests of individual classes and social groups. This shift has been viewed in the context of the basic trends in the formation and development of national statehood as well as from the viewpoint of the social determinants in the activities of the Afro-Asian intelligentsia itself.

In the book special attention has been given to the role of the intelligentsia in the political activation of the masses. The authors have emphasized that its best representatives, in relying on the development experience of their own countries, are well aware that "without involving the broadest masses of people in the liberated countries in the various spheres of social life, without mobilizing the will and energy of the lower strata of society, it is impossible either to create the objective conditions or prepare the subjective prerequisites for achieving a national renaissance and social progress" (p 139). The book has shown that the political mobilization of the masses is an extremely complex process carried out through a system of administrative bodies and political institutions among which the ruling party is the most important.

The authors have emphasized that after the winning of independence, the progressive part of the national intelligentsia spontaneously and often consciously has been drawn to collaborate with the revolutionary masses acting as the driving force of the national liberation movement. They have disclosed the involved nature in the mechanism of the intelligentsia's ideological activities during this period with an ideological "diversity" inevitably leading to contradictoriness, inconsistency and eclecticism. Among the ideological currents predominating in the developing Asian and African countries, the first place without doubt is held by nationalism which in the book is defined as "one of the dominants of intellectual awareness" (p 166). Enlightenment, on the contrary, loses its classic traits although the representatives of the national intelligentsia are still inspired by the ideals of enlightening the masses, fighting against superstitions and prejudices and opening the doors to scientific-technical and cultural progress. The ideological trends of modern "populism" have become widespread. Precisely the intelligentsia has been the agent of this ideology combining bourgeois democracy with anticapitalism and

viewing the "people" (primarily the peasantry) as the base of national development. Finally, among the ideological currents popular with the representatives of the intelligentsia in the developing countries, a special place is held by the concepts of "national socialism." The monograph's authors have explained the popularity of socialist ideas primarily through the increased prestige and influence of Marxism-Leninism, the world socialist system and the international communist movement. "For the current forms of the intelligentsia's swing in the Eastern countries to positions of Marxism-Leninism, crucial is the fact that these have been caused not by a desire to achieve political sovereignty but rather by the needs of solving the most complex problems of social, economic and cultural development in the interests of the working majority" (p 213).

The concluding chapter of the book merits special attention and this is devoted to a criticism of the bourgeois concepts of the "social domination" of the intelligentsia in the liberated countries. Such concepts have gained broad acceptance in the Western non-Marxist sociology and in subjecting them to well-reasoned criticism, the authors of the reviewed work have shown that the attention of the bourgeois theoreticians to the genesis, formation and activities of the Afro-Asian intelligentsia has been caused not by a mere academic interest but rather reflects a social imperative of the ruling circles in the Western capitalist countries. With good reason, the bourgeois researchers have intensely emphasized the role of the students as an assault force of antigovernment movements in the young states.

Many bourgeois theoreticians assign the "middle class" the crucial role in national construction. The book shows that this term (in contrast to the concept of "middle strata" adopted in Marxist orientalist studies) is an artificial, far-fetched category of bourgeois sociology aimed at obscuring the social differentiation both in all society of the transitional period as well as within the intelligentsia itself. The ideological focus for the concept of the "middle class" and other similar theories is totally aimed at the social strategy of neocolonialism. Although within bourgeois sociology a single viewpoint has not yet developed on the question of the role of the intelligentsia in the national construction of the developing countries, nevertheless the bourgeois theoreticians are united by an outright or veiled apology of capitalism and by a desire to defend the interests of neocolonialism by the means of a theoretical justification for the supposed inevitable and constantly deepening gap between the broad masses and the intelligentsia in these countries. "The most recent neocolonialist concepts and doctrines of 'modernization' in the liberating countries under the aegis of the 'Westernized' intelligentsia," the authors conclude, "do not stand up to criticism in colliding with the sociopolitical reality of the present-day Afro-Asian world" (p 299).

In being in essence the first comprehensive Marxist study of such a complex, contradictory and dynamic social phenomenon as the national intelligentsia in the developing Asian and African countries, the reviewed monograph organically combines professional sociological analysis with profound ideological and political generalizations. Particularly important is the factual and analytical material contained in the work on the problems of socioclass structures, cultural development and the ideological struggle in the zone of the national liberation revolutions.

The book is not free of author and printing errors. For example, in speaking about the basic ideological trends in the awareness of the intelligentsia and on the main areas of its cultural activities, the authors, unfortunately, have not taken philosophy. There is no need to show how great its role is in shaping the spiritual make-up of the intelligentsia. Moreover, philosophy serves as one of the means for the political mobilizing of the masses as religious-philosophical traditions and ideological stereotypes are widely employed by the intelligentsia for a theoretical underpinning for the proposed sociopolitical programs and for making the people aware of them. This aspect, in our view, merits serious attention.

The excluding of philosophy from the sphere of research has entailed an inaccuracy in certain ideas on ideology and the cultural activities of the intelligentsia. Thus, the monograph states that "among the liberal intelligentsia one can isolate a liberal-conservative trend which is close in its ideological and religious-philosophical sources to the rightist nationalists" (p 181). At the same time, in certain countries, for example, in India, precisely the liberal intelligentsia has provided the thinkers who, in supporting moderate conciliatory positions in the political area, have defended very radical ideas and concepts in the ideological area, they sharply criticized mysticism and religion, they were in favor of a linking of science and philosophy and they preached a materialistically oriented naturalism and even materialism (see, for example, [4]).

It is also scarcely valid to assert that certain followers of "modernist" ideological currents in religion "have endeavored to represent religion not simply as spiritual teachings but also as a particular socioeconomic system" (p 179). To represent religion as a "separate socioeconomic system" is theoretically unsound and if anyone does this then, in the first place, it is essential to say precisely who has and, secondly, to disclose the meaning which has been invested in the designated concept. Nor can we recognize as successful the term "neotraditionalism" (p 240) which contains a semantic contradiction.

The designated flaws and oversights cause regret, however, they do not exclude the high praise which the book undoubtedly merits.

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4. Sh. G. Sardesai, "The Liberation Movement and Ideology," PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 1, 1980.

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TELEVISION AND TIME

Moscow SOTSILOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 2 (signed to press
19 Apr 83) pp 234-235

[Review by V. V. Boyko of the book "Televiziya i vreme" (Television and Time)
(in Bulgarian) by I. Slavkov and V. Kunchev, Sofia, Nauka i izkustvo, 1981,
285 pages]

[Text] News commentary [publistics] is a major method in television for reflecting reality and it should aid in shaping opinions, views, interests and desires of the viewing audience and influence the activities of social institutions. In being an offspring of social life and in reflecting urgent problems of modern times, news commentary as a genre has been shaped and developed under the impact of both external social factors and on the basis of its own inner "potentials" and expressive means. The authors of the reviewed monograph show the development of news commentary on Bulgarian television precisely in such a key. One of them, V. Kunchev is a sociologist working in the area of mass communications theory and the other I. Slavkov is a news commentator and the author of a number of film scenarios. In a word, the reviewed monograph is interesting also in the fact that it is the result of the creative collaboration of a theoretician and practical worker.

In using the experience of Bulgarian television, the authors discuss the generally significant theoretical problems of news commentary. The specific features and history of the given method of depicting reality are viewed in an inseparable link to the development of television under the conditions of a socialist society. On the one hand, the book shows the uniqueness of the social function and essence of television as a form for understanding and depicting social reality and, on the other, the very social reality which determines the choice of television means for depicting it is described. As is known, the role of television and the direction of the development of its genres have been brought about by the rise of the corresponding social needs. On this question the authors have voiced an interesting, although debatable viewpoint. In their opinion, the main demand which brought television to life was the need to improve the awareness and self-awareness of society and man in order to ensure the integrity of society as a system and raise the level of the reproduction of the individual as a social subject [principal] (p 16).

The central function of mass communications and, in particular television, the authors propose is a correlation-regulative one. Due to the activities of the

mass communications media, the social institutions and the entire social system become open and accessible to social cognition and analysis. The mass communications media also contribute to the self-knowledge of any social institution and to the strengthening of ties between the individual and society. The correlative-regulative function is realized through a system of goals with the basic ones being the socialization and individualization of the personality.

The basic theoretical concepts of the book can be assessed only against a background of the other opinions on the functions and goals of television. The authors dispute the scientists who derive the specific features of television from the conditions of receiving information (the intimate-confidential situation and the "effect of presence") and the technical capabilities (the synthesizing of oral speech, image and music, the capacity to broadcast from the site of an event and relay the recording at any time). In the opinion of the authors of the reviewed monograph, the specific features of television are revealed in the ideas of the need of a modern society for profound self-knowledge and for improving ties between the various social institutions and the individual.

Of interest, in our view, are the ideas on the dynamics of the social functions of television and the other mass communications media and the relationship of this dynamics with the structural elements of news commentary creativity (pp 63-69). The proposed approach convincingly demonstrates the causality of news commentary and generally the creative activities on television by the entire aggregate of social phenomena reflected in the mass communications functions.

It should be pointed out that the authors have drawn widely on the data of sociological research and they do this very skillfully. Sociological information "works" actively, becoming here either a proof of the ideas proposed or a means of disclosing the patterns in the creative process of television news commentary.

In pointing out the theoretical and practical value of the book by Slavkov and Kunchev, we would emphasize that it, as the authors themselves rightly feel, is a history of television news commentary (p 281). This is merely an attempt (and a very successful one!) to sketch in the patterns of television news commentary creativity on the basis of Marxist-Leninist methodology and the data of sociological research.

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